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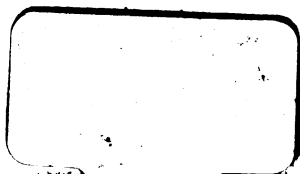
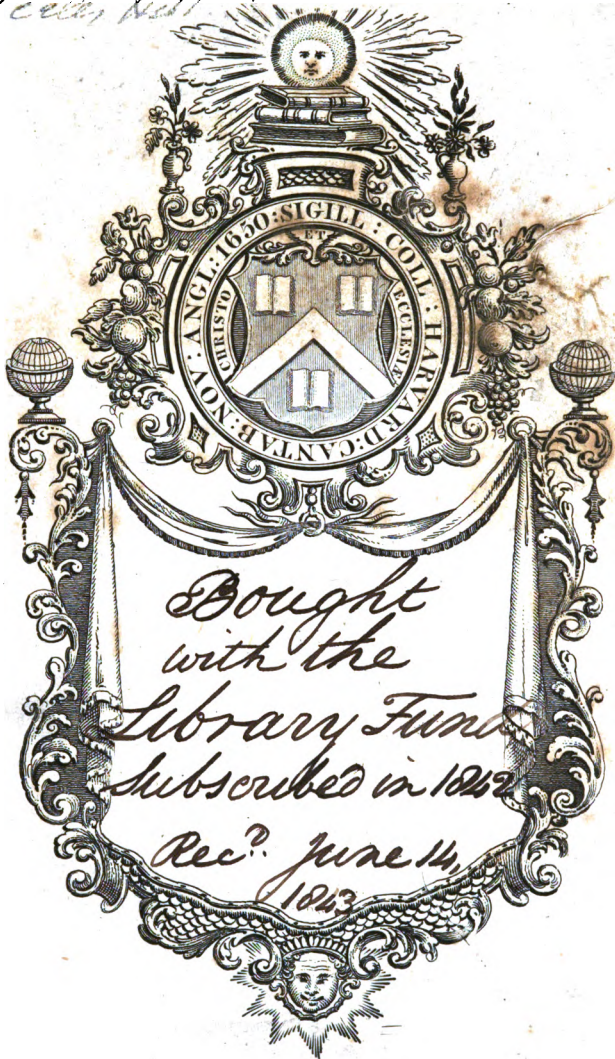


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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION
IN
SCOTLAND:

WITH
AN INTRODUCTORY BOOK, AND AN APPENDIX.

BY
GEORGE COOK, D.D. F.R.S.E.

MINISTER OF LAURENCEKIRK,
AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND,
AND OF AN ILLUSTRATION OF THE GENERAL EVIDENCE
ESTABLISHING THE REALITY OF CHRIST'S
RESURRECTION, &c. &c.

Periculosa plenum opus aleæ.—HOR.

SECOND EDITION.

VOLUME FIRST.

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EDINBURGH:

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PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

THE Reformation produced so great an effect upon the religious, the political, and the intellectual condition of European nations, that the history of its progress, in any particular country, must be interesting to the philosopher, and must afford to the intelligent general reader much valuable instruction. In Scotland it had to struggle with the most formidable opposition ; but this opposition called into exercise many virtues, expanded the views of those against whom it was directed, and led to the adoption of principles, the dissemination of which has rendered Britain the asylum of liberty, and raised it to the high place which it has long held amongst the kingdoms of the world.

Of the great men who were engaged in the momentous contest, a few have transmitted to posterity the events which they

witnessed, and the opinions which they supported or opposed ; but valuable as is the information which is derived from them, the truth has frequently been misrepresented or disguised, through ignorance of official papers, to which they had no access, or through the influence of prejudices, which even the strongest minds could not, in their situation, effectually counteract.

The historians who have related the political transactions of the period to which I allude, have necessarily adverted to that change of religion, by which these transactions were produced or affected, and the late Dr Gilbert Stuart published a short account of the Reformation ; but it will readily be admitted, that the subject, whether we have in view accuracy of detail, the elucidation of the state of Scotland, and of many interesting parts of the history of Britain, or the study of human nature, placed under circumstances calling forth all its energy, requires a more full and a more careful discussion.

I have scrupulously compared different writers,—I have, I trust, corrected some errors which have been sanctioned even by the most eminent of our historians,—and I

have endeavoured to preserve that impartiality, so essential in detailing transactions with respect to which there has existed, and there still exists, great diversity of opinion.

I have almost uniformly, in the course of the history, quoted my authorities with the utmost exactness, mentioning not merely the title of the work, but the edition which I used, the book, the chapter, and very commonly the page to which I refer. This I consider as the duty of every historian. It is the best evidence of the diligence with which he has laboured, and it enables all who have leisure or inclination for doing so to ascertain the validity of his claim to fidelity, the first requisite in historical composition. As the works and documents which I have consulted will thus, as I proceed, be frequently specified, it is not necessary that they should be here particularly enumerated.

For exhibiting the advantages which resulted from the Reformation in the light in which they should be regarded, I have delineated, in the first Chapter of the Introductory Book, the religious system which was established in Scotland while the dominion of papal superstition existed in all

its vigour, and attempted to point out its effect upon government, upon the administration of justice, upon morality, upon intellectual improvement, and upon the general happiness of life. In the second Chapter, in order to pave the way for the history which succeeds, I have mentioned the chief causes which gave rise to the Reformation in Germany, from which country it was fortunately conveyed to Britain.

Amidst the tremendous convulsions which agitate Europe, and which threaten to terminate in the wide diffusion of military despotism, it is delightful to look back to a revolution which disseminated the blessings of liberty, and the consolations of pure religion; while the contemplation of the fortitude with which our ancestors defended themselves from a foreign yoke, cannot fail to strengthen that noble spirit of independence which has descended to their posterity, and which alone can ultimately preserve us from the horrors of conquest, and the misery of oppression.

LAURENCE KIRK, *March*, 1811.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

I HAVE availed myself of the opportunity afforded by the publication of a new edition of the following History, carefully to revise it, to make several alterations on the style which will render it more perspicuous, and to omit some allusions to events, which, at the time of composing this work, agitated almost every mind, but which, from the changes that have since taken place in the state of Europe, have now lost much of their interest.

In a very few instances, where I differ in opinion from other writers, I have thought

it proper to state, more fully than I formerly did, the evidence by which my judgment was decided; and several slight inaccuracies which I had discovered, or which had been pointed out to me, I have corrected. Having, however, calmly re-examined the authorities upon which I originally rested, and consulted various other documents, with which, in prosecuting my historical researches, I became acquainted, I have had the satisfaction to find, that in every thing essential, the fidelity of my narration, as first submitted to the public, is amply confirmed.

LAURENCE KIRK, *Dec. 1818.*

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FROM the obscurity in which the early ages of the history of Scotland are involved, it is perhaps impossible to ascertain the precise period when Christianity was first conveyed to it, or to determine by whom a blessing so valuable was imparted. We know in general, that, agreeably to the predic-

Introductory Book.
Introduction of Christianity into Scotland.

Introductory Book.

tions of its great Author, it was soon very extensively diffused ; and it is not improbable, that the persecutions which embittered the enjoyment, and endangered the lives of all who professed it, contributed very powerfully to spread it with rapidity, amongst the most distant nations. From an incidental expression of Tertullian, it has been conjectured, that, before the termination of the second century, the gospel had reached to the remote parts of Britain ; and the knowledge of it, which accident or design then communicated, was preserved and increased by the multitudes, who, to avoid the severity of those imperial edicts which were issued against the Christians, fled to the inaccessible wilds, into which even the arms of Rome had in vain attempted to penetrate.*

From the fury which actuated the contending tribes who then inhabited Scotland, and from the ignorance to which a state of society, in the highest degree rude and ferocious, unavoidably gave rise, we cannot wonder, that accurate information respecting the progress of the new faith has not been handed down to us. That it gained ground notwithstanding the many obstacles which it had to encounter, admits not of a doubt ; and it is no less apparent, that this effect must have been produced

* Tertullian adv. Judæos, p. 139 of his works, and note 43, p. 151. Buchanan, Lib. iv. p. 68, of Ruddiman's edition, in folio, Vol. I. Spotswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, 3d edition, p. 2, published at London, 1668.

by the unwearied efforts of teachers animated by the most intrepid zeal, and devoted to the religion ^{Introductory Book.} which they laboured to establish.

If credit may be attached to the accounts of the greater number of our early historians—accounts which have been sanctioned and embellished by the elegant pen of Buchanan,—the Culdees, or first Christian ministers, were distinguished by the purity and simplicity of their manners. Mingling with mankind only that they might instruct them, they maintained amongst themselves the utmost harmony, and regarded with indifference, or with aversion, the fascinating pursuits of wealth and of honour. From their own number they chose the most pious and exemplary to superintend the exertions, and to guide the counsels, of the community of teachers ; but whether they considered these superintendents as thus invested with an order distinct from that of their brethren, or were directed merely by views of expediency, we have not sufficient knowledge to decide.* It is, in fact, a matter of little moment ; for

* Boeth. An. Fordun's Scotichronicon, Lib. iii. chap. viii. Vol. I. Edinburgh, 1759, edited by Goodal. Buchanan, Lib. vi. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. I. of an edition published at Arbroath. David Buchanan's Preface to Knox's History, p. 10. Sibbald's History of Fife, edition Cupar of Fife, 1803. Shaw's History of Murrayshire. Maitland's History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 160. Since the first edition of this work was sent to the press, Dr Jamieson has published his Historical Account of the Ancient Culdees, in which he has collected much valuable information with regard to them ; but there still hangs over their history considerable obscurity. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. IX. quarto, belonging to the University Library of Glasgow.

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however eagerly it may have been canvassed by the advocates of episcopacy, or of presbytery, it is obvious, that, if any one form of ecclesiastical government has been exclusively sanctioned by the authority of heaven, we must derive our opinions of its nature, and of the essential arrangements which are connected with it, not from the practice of an age enjoying few advantages for the accurate investigation of divine truth, but from the positive declarations of the sacred Scriptures.

Scottish church originally independent of foreign churches.

But whatever was the constitution under which the church of Scotland was placed, it is very evident that it was, in the strictest sense of the word, independent. It looked to no foreign church as entitled to direct the faith of those whom it had received into its communion; and, cut off from much intercourse with the rest of the world, it long escaped the errors into which Christians, in other parts of Europe, had unhappily fallen.*

From the scanty records to which access can now be obtained, it seems highly probable, that it preserved a purity of doctrine, and an energy of discipline, eminently calculated to secure the great ends for which revelation was given; that, accommodating itself to the varying situation of its members, it earnestly enforced the fundamental principles of morality, endeavouring to check the vices, and to

* Much information respecting the independence of the Scottish Church, is to be found in Sir James Dalrymple's Collections concerning the Scottish History, published at Edinburgh, 1706.

soften the manners which too universally prevailed; and that, grateful for the protection of government, and for the civil rights which it early obtained, it laboured to cement the social union, to facilitate the administration of justice, and to promote that submission to lawful authority, which, before its establishment, had, by discontent or ambition, been so often refused.*

It was, however, destined to experience an unfortunate revolution. In a few ages, there was extended to it that fatal influence which corrupted the simplicity of the Christian religion, and spread ignorance, error, and superstition, over the fairest countries of Europe.

The church of Rome had, from an early period, been beheld with peculiar veneration. It had been dignified by the ministry, distinguished by the applause, and rendered venerable by the martyrdom of St Paul. It was established in a city which had been, for many centuries, the capital of the world; which, in later times, had become the abode of elegant literature, the theatre upon which the most brilliant productions of the fine arts were displayed, and the seat of imperial magnificence; and the wealthy converts who abounded in it, gratified their zeal by enriching their church, and by surrounding its bishop with a splendour which raised him above the bishops of inferior cities.

* Bede, Lib. iii. Buchanan, Lib. v. Dav. Buchanan's Preface to Knox's History, p. 12. Sibbald's History of Fife, p. 174.

Introductory Book.

The bishops of Rome did not fail to take advantage of the situation in which they were placed. They early arrogated as a right, the deference, which, from the causes that have been mentioned, was voluntarily paid to them, and they soon succeeded in securing the homage and submission of the Italian churches. Still, however, bounds were long set to the ambition by which they were actuated. During the period which elapsed, until Christianity became the religion of the empire, they frequently suffered under the oppression of persecution; and the recurrence of seasons of adversity tended to preserve, at least the appearance of that humility, of which they afterwards too plainly shewed that they were anxious to be divested.*

But after Constantine, professing himself a Christian, and avowing his determination to raise the cross upon the ruins of paganism, extended to the disciples of Jesus the protection and the support of the civil power, the pontiffs, delivered from the apprehensions which had agitated and restrained them, enlarged their pretensions, and spoke with a firmer tone of authority; and although they continued to yield the most dutiful submission to the emperors, and did not probably form a conception of that claim to independence which they afterwards urged, they

* Guicciardini, Lib. iv. as quoted at the end of an English translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. p. 214, and 285, 286, Edition 1774. Campbell's Lectures on Church History, Vol. I. p. 386.

seem early to have delighted themselves with the idea, that, as the Emperor ruled over the greater part of the nations of the known world, they might establish a spiritual sovereignty over the vast community of Christians. Introductory Book.

While they resided under the walls of the imperial palace, it was necessary to unfold with caution these extensive views, because it was necessary to guard with the utmost care against the jealousy, which a too precipitate advancement on their part would have excited. From this caution, however, they were soon delivered, by the resolution of Constantine to found a new city, and to transfer to the eastern shores of Europe the seat of empire. Uniting the sanctity of their character, and the devout reverence of multitudes enslaved by superstition, with the influence of that enormous wealth, which they had diverted from the maintenance of the poor, and the erection of sacred edifices, to promote their own aggrandizement, and to give brilliancy to their court, they daily acquired additional privileges, and advanced, with a rapidity which must have astonished even themselves, to the accomplishment of that stupendous scheme, which was at length so fully realized.*

In this progress they were much assisted by the indolence, the carelessness, and the mistaken policy of the emperors. Valentinian, as if the mo-

* Guicciardini, as before quoted. Father Paul's Treatise on Beneficiary Matters, *passim*.

Introductory Book.

desty of the bishops of Rome had rendered it requisite to constrain them to accept of power, enacted a law, by which he authorized them to examine and judge other bishops. The ground upon which he rested this singular decree, was more formidable and pernicious than even the decree itself, for he invested the popes with this extensive jurisdiction, that ecclesiastical disputes might not be decided by profane and secular judges, but by a Christian pontiff and his colleagues. The effect of the decree was long confined to Italy; but it laid the foundation of that vast superstructure, which, in succeeding ages, was reared; a superstructure which numberless causes now conspired to raise.*

But rapid as was the exaltation of the pontiffs, they looked with a fearful and jealous eye towards the bishop of Constantinople. Sensible that their respectability and power were derived from the dignity of Rome, and the devout liberality of the emperors, they naturally apprehended that the same causes would operate in favour of the patriarch of the imperial city; and they watched with unceasing anxiety over the efforts which he soon made to acquire an elevation in the church, to which his predecessors had laid no claim.

The struggles which took place between the bishops of the old and new capitals, certainly for

* Mosheim, Vol. I. p. 237, and note by Maclaine, the translator. Campbell, Vol. I. p. 410.

some time retarded the attempts of the popes to ^{Introductory Book,} bend mankind to abject submission, and thus to secure the spiritual throne of Christendom. They could not remonstrate against the ambition of the eastern patriarchs, without themselves using the language of moderation; and they were consequently necessitated, till their object was attained, to make their conduct in some degree to correspond with the professions of humility which they employed to evince the indifference with which they regarded this transitory world.* Their fears were raised to the greatest height by an appellation, which the bishops of Constantinople, in the sixth century, began to appropriate. One of these bishops, in summoning a general council, styled himself Universal Bishop. The title certainly implied, that he possessed the highest place in the priesthood; and Gregory the First, who, at that time, sat upon the papal throne, was filled with alarm and with indignation. In the bitterness of his anguish, after having addressed the strongest remonstrances to the patriarch himself, to convince him of the enormity of which he had been guilty, the pope wrote to the emperor, to interest him in a cause which was represented as so intimately connected with the purity of religion. He complained of the arrogance of the patriarch; and his letter is written in a style very different from what

* Mosheim, Vol. I. p. 288, 289. Campbell, Vol. I. p. 403, 404.

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the subsequent conduct of the successors of St Peter would have led us to expect. He begins by expressly acknowledging, that the priesthood was under the inspection and controul of the civil power. He most pathetically bewails the corruption which even thus early disgraced the sacred order ; and he then proceeds to the chief purpose of his letter, to shew, that the title of Universal Bishop ought not, by any bishop, to be assumed. For establishing this point, he mentions, that although the apostle Peter had been invested with the care of the church of Christ, he had never been denominated the Universal Apostle: "Howbeit," he adds, "the holy man John, my fellow-priest, laboureth to be called universal bishop." In the ardour of his zeal for religion, and for the humility of its ministers, he exclaims, "I am forced to cry out and say, O corruption of time and manners. Behold ! the barbarians are become lords of all Europe ; cities are destroyed, castles are beaten down, provinces are depopulated, there is no husbandmen to till the ground—idolaters rage, and domineer over Christians,—and yet priests, who ought to lie weeping upon the pavement, and in ashes, desire names of vanity, and do glory in new and profane titles. Do I, most religious sovereign, here plead in mine own cause, do I not maintain the cause of God Almighty, and of the church universal ? Who is he that presumeth to usurp this new name against the law of the gospel ? I

have written to my brother priest, both gently and humbly, that he would desist from the pursuit of this vain glory ; if he give ear to me, he hath a brother, devoted to him ; but if he continue in his pride, he will make that Being his enemy, of whom it is written, God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble.”* Introductory Book.

Yet, notwithstanding these solemn declarations, the most charitable cannot doubt that Gregory was pleading his own cause, and was much more concerned for the glory of the holy see than for the reformation of his brother. Although he had too much penetration not to disclaim the title of Universal Pope, by which one of the eastern patriarchs attempted to sooth him, and although, to remove every doubt of his humility, he called himself the servant of the servants of God, a title by which his successors, even when raised to the pinnacle of spiritual and temporal dominion, and when issuing the most arrogant and inhuman mandates, continued to insult the reason and the feelings of mankind, we find him, after the cruel and infamous Phocas had been exalted to the imperial throne, offering the most unprincipled adulation, that he might procure an enlargement of power, and obtain, through this corrupted channel,

* Gregory, M. Ep. iv. 38. Do. Ep. ad Mauric. Aug. Barrow's Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy, Vol. 1st of his works, p. 629, 630. Campbell's Lectures, Vol. II. p. 57-59.

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privileges much more substantial than the empty name which had contented the bishop of Constantinople.* He did not indeed live to reap the fruit of his flattery; but notwithstanding his declaration, that the title of universal bishop was repugnant to the spirit of the gospel, and that whoever assumed it was the forerunner of Antichrist, it was in a few years assumed by one of his successors, and assumed, too, when the decree of the emperor, conjoining with it the right of superintending the Christian church, rendered it infinitely more incompatible with the religion of Him, whose kingdom was not of this world, than it had been, when the piety or the pride of Gregory regarded it with indignation and with horror.†

But although the popes thus obtained the victory over the patriarch of Constantinople, they saw that he might resume the contest, if no means were devised effectually to prevent it; and they were thus led to assert, that the government of the church had, by divine authority, been committed to Peter, the prince of the apostles; that this government he had transmitted to his successors the bishops of Rome, and that their right to rule had therefore no connection with views of human expediency, but rested upon the appointment of Hea-

* Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Vol. VIII, p. 211. Chap. 46. Campbell's Lectures, Vol. II. p. 61-66.

† Greg. Ep. Lib. vi Ep. 30. Campbell's Lectures, Vol. II. p. 72.

ven, and could not be disputed or resisted without the guilt of impiety.*

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From the period at which they successfully propagated this bold doctrine, the popes met with little resistance to the supremacy of their spiritual jurisdiction; and they soon had the policy to include in their empire the governments and the monarchs of Europe.

Invested with dominion over the churches of the earth, they determined that their sovereignty should be more than nominal. They employed part of the wealth which, by artifices often the most shocking and detestable, they had acquired, in sending to different countries, men devoted to their interest; and where their power had been already recognized, they secured the co-operation of the most considerable prelates, by conferring upon them honours, which could raise them in the public estimation, only in the degree in which they excited veneration for those who conferred them.†

I have given this slight view of the origin and progress of the papal power, because it will account for the changes which were introduced into

* Dr Campbell, in his *Lectures upon Ecclesiastical History*, has, with his usual learning and acuteness, traced the gradual elevation of the popes, till they became the rulers of the church. See also Gibbon's *History*.

† Father Paul on *Beneficiary Matters*. This most interesting work should be read by all who wish to form accurate notions of the gradual corruption of religion in Europe.

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the church of Scotland, and for the establishment of that monstrous system, the nature of which I shall attempt to appreciate, and which the Reformation, wherever it was introduced, happily destroyed.

The popes attempt to subject the church of Scotland.

At what time the church of Rome first extended its influence to Scotland, it is difficult to ascertain. The records of these remote ages are so few and inaccurate, that we must be guided by conjecture rather than by truth, if we attempt minutely to illustrate them.* There is, however, reason to believe, that so early as the fifth century, an emissary had been despatched by the pontiff to examine the state, and to regulate the polity of the Scottish church. Palladius, our historians affirm, received a commission from Celestine, the reigning pope, and undertook the long and perilous journey, that he might spread the light of religion, and obliterate the errors of Pelagius, which had been extensively disseminated in Britain.

To Palladius many have ascribed the introduction of the order of bishops into Scotland. The ground upon which this opinion rests is not sufficient decisively to establish it, although it is making an unreasonable effort for setting it aside, to insinuate, as for this purpose has been done, that Scotland was not the country to which Palladius was sent.†

* Innes's Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern parts of Scotland, Vol. II.

† Fordun's Scotichronicon, Vol. I. Lib. iii. chap. viii. Prosper. Chron. Boethius's Annals. Buchanan, Lib. 5. Buchanan's Preface to Knox, p.

We know from tradition, that he resided and exercised his mission in that district which now composes the shire of Kincardine. The place in which his ashes were deposited is still covered by the ruins of a chapel bearing his name ; and pious Christians, for many ages, repaired to the sacred sepulchre, that they might expiate their sins, and implore his intercession.

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We may, therefore, consider Palladius as having effectually opened that intercourse with Rome, which every day became more frequent ; and however pure were his own motives, or however strenuous and successful were his efforts in the sacred cause which he was desirous to promote,—and every testimony perpetuates the blamelessness of his life, and the sincerity of his zeal,—he paved the way for that attack which was made upon the liberty of the church, and for that slavery to which Scotland was afterwards reduced.*

From the æra of his arrival, the pope was regarded, by the inhabitants of Scotland, as the head of the church. They occasionally applied to him to remove their doubts, or to decide their controversies ; and his dictates were received with a degree of veneration, which prepared those who re-

11-13. Spottiswoode, B. i. p. 7. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. I. Lloyd's History of Church Government, quoted by Maitland in Vol. I. of his History of Scotland. Usher's Antiquities of the British Churches, p. 417, &c.

* Fordun. Buchanan. Spottiswoode, p. 7.

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vered them for that humiliating subjection, which was rapidly extending over the western nations of Europe.

But this subjection was not, in Scotland, the effect of one attempt, or the work of one age. The people of that country long considered their submission to the pope as completely voluntary ; and when he endeavoured to alter what they esteemed as sacred, they resolutely asserted the right of judging for themselves, adhering, in opposition to his entreaties, his injunctions, and his threatenings, to those principles and observances which had been transmitted to them by their fathers.

Resisted in various points by the clergy.

Of this manly sense of independence, there are many instances in the history of Scotland ; and as these instances strikingly illustrate the national character, and the daring, ambitious, and persevering spirit of the papal sovereignty, I shall mention some of them, by which the feelings and the passions, at the period of their occurrence, were most strongly excited.

In the original institution of the church of Scotland, provision had been made for regarding, with peculiar solemnity, and distinguishing, by peculiar professions of religious reverence, the time at which the awful events of Christ's suffering, death, and resurrection, were conceived to have taken place. From whatever source this practice derived its origin, it became necessary, after it was adopted, to fix on the precise day upon which the solemnity

ties connected with it, should be observed ; and it is melancholy to think that, about a point so frivolous, the unity of the church was dissolved, and the most violent controversies long maintained. Introductory Book.

The founders of the Scottish church differed from the church of Rome, respecting the rule for determining Easter ; and the first strenuous efforts which the popes made in Scotland, had for their object to abolish this distinction, and to produce conformity to the Romish ritual. But the clergy of this distant country listened with aversion, and with horror, to the proposal of the pontiff. They considered their mode of observing Easter as resting upon the same authority with religion itself ; and, convinced that the admission of any alteration in this mode would not be less impious than the abjuration of their faith, they adhered to their original practice with a firmness which, had it been uniformly exerted, would have saved their church from the pollution of superstition, and their country from the spiritual darkness, in which, for ages, it was involved. To the remonstrances and the reasonings of successive popes, they lent an inattentive or a disobedient ear. The letters written from Rome they neglected, or, from unwillingness to contend with the popes, they modestly declined to answer ; and when, at a subsequent period, they were summoned to attend a council held in Northumberland, at which this point was

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to be disputed, they steadily supported their opinion, not staggered by the declaration, that the Roman mode was sanctioned by St Peter ; a declaration which settled the faith of the monarch who presided, and drew from him the honest acknowledgment—" Since St Peter is the door-keeper of the kingdom of heaven, I will follow his rule in every thing, lest, when I come to the gate of Paradise, the door shall be shut against me."*

The decision of the monarch was followed by the acquiescence of the majority of his church ; but much dissension was created. Colman, a native of Scotland, who had settled in Northumberland, and was regarded with the highest reverence, rather than conform to what he disapproved, resigned his pastoral office, and was welcomed by his countrymen with a cordiality and a veneration which amply rewarded his fortitude, and illustrated the zeal with which they had espoused what he had so disinterestedly refused to abjure.†

After the emperors had acknowledged the papal supremacy, the popes, as I observed, enlarged their pretensions ; and they had the address to select emissaries admirably qualified to discharge, with fidelity, the trust which was committed to them. In the

* Bede, Lib. iii. Rapin's Account of the Church of Northumberland, in the first volume of his History of England. fol. edit. Spottiswoode, Book i. p. 2. and 17. Dalrymple's Collections, p. 46.

† Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 18. Dalrymple's Collections, p. 46, 47.

end of the seventh century, Boniface, bishop of Mentz, distinguished himself by the success with which he laboured to increase the number of churches subjected to Rome. Through a great part of Germany, he prevailed upon the inhabitants to venerate the pope as the representative of God, and in all ecclesiastical matters to submit to his decision. In the course of his progress, he met with two natives of Scotland, who had been led to establish themselves in a foreign country. They had carried with them the religious opinions in which they had been educated ; and they had penetration to discern, that the doctrines inculcated by the bishop, tended to corrupt or to overthrow these opinions. They did not preserve in silence this conviction. They probably dreaded, that what was attempted in Germany, would soon be attempted in their own nation ; and they endeavoured to avert so formidable an evil, by inveighing against Boniface, as a corrupter of Christianity. The grounds upon which they rested this heavy charge, they explicitly stated : “ They blamed him because he studied to bring men under subjection to the pope, and not to the obedience of Christ ; because he sought to establish a sovereign authority in the pope’s person, as if he were the only successor of the apostles, whereas, all bishops were their successors as well as he ; because he instituted the practice of saying masses for the dead, of erecting images in churches, and of

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introducing rites unknown in the purest times of Christianity.”*

Had these sentiments continued to be the sentiments of Christendom, the light of divine truth would never have been extinguished; and had the clergy of Scotland united the wisdom and the fortitude of their foreign representatives, they would have had the high honour of asserting the spiritual liberty of mankind, and of preserving that independence, which, in common with the clergy of other churches, they offered as the expression of their homage, upon the blood-stained altar of popish intolerance and persecution.

But there was one cause, in which the Scottish clergy made a manly, though ineffectual resistance to the tyranny of Rome, which ought not to be concealed; a cause to which allusion had been made by the divines who opposed the bishop of Mentz; for, in addition to the charges against him which have been already mentioned, they accused him of contaminating the religion of Christ, by declaring hostility against the marriages of the clergy, and exalting too much a state of celibacy.

In the epistles of St Paul, written at a period when suffering was the portion of all who attached themselves to Christianity, there are expressions showing the solicitude with which the apostle

* Spottiswoode, Book i. p. 20. Some particulars of Boniface's mission may be seen in Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. I. p. 4. London edition of 1720.

dissuaded from forming relations, that, under the ^{Introductory Book.} unfortunate circumstances in which the converts were placed, could only increase their misery, or prove a snare for their defection from their Christian profession. The same cause continued, for several ages, to exert an extensive influence upon the disciples of Christ. The persecutions of the heathen emperors deterred numbers from entering into the matrimonial state; and many who were revered as martyrs had abstained from it.

The respect which the real virtues of these men naturally excited, was extended to those parts of their conduct which afforded no example for imitation. Hence celibacy early began to be regarded as indicating the most sublime sanctity; and the union of the platonic philosophy with the doctrines of the gospel, fortified every sentiment which tended to produce or to cherish contempt for the body, considered, under that visionary system, as the great enemy to the divine life.

In the darkness of superstition, such an opinion gained strength; and the obligation of celibacy was represented as peculiarly incumbent upon that order of men, who had professed to withdraw their attention and their affections from this world, that, with undistracted zeal, they might guide their fellow-creatures to the enjoyment of the next.

The Roman pontiffs, constantly aiming at the establishment of spiritual and temporal dominion, soon perceived how much their views would be pro-

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moted, by stamping, with their sacred authority, this false and pernicious doctrine. Eager to exalt the character, to increase the wealth, and to enlarge the power of the priesthood, they were nevertheless sensible, that if the holy men who composed it were permitted to form the tenderest connections which give delight to human life, cares quite distinct from those which, as priests, should engross them, might occupy their minds ; and that the spirit of their order, and anxiety to aggrandize it, might be lost in parental solicitude, or in that earnestness with which all, who are not sunk in depravity, promote the prosperity and comfort of those to whom they are united by the closest ties of affection.

To form, then, the priesthood into one great body, animated by one soul, and keeping steadily in view one object, marriage to them was proscribed. The pope saw that they would not only thus become more completely devoted to the advancement of his most daring schemes, but that he would be able, with greater ease, to appropriate, for his own purposes, part of the affluence which they would rapidly acquire. No plan of papal ambition, however, was regarded with greater indignation, or was more strenuously resisted. The best feelings, and the strongest inclinations of our nature, even superstition, in the fulness of its empire, was unable at once to eradicate ; and the most pious, the most exemplary, and the most esteemed of the priesthood, those of them who were most eager for the mo-

ality, and for the real dignity of their brethren, strenuously opposed the authority by which it was enjoined. Introductory Book.

In the tenth century, this subject was keenly agitated in Britain. Dunstan, the tool of Rome, a man of consummate hypocrisy and boundless ambition, who succeeded in acquiring ascendancy over several of the kings under whom he lived, took every method to bring obloquy upon the married clergy. With an inhumanity, most suitable to the cause in which he was engaged, he compelled them to separate from their families, or to renounce the benefices by which alone they could provide for their support. A council was called to accomplish more effectually the designs of this savage prelate. The council was attended by at least one deputy from the church of Scotland, charged with the sentiments of his brethren ; and to his immortal honour he pleaded, although he pleaded in vain, the cause of nature, of reason, of policy, and of religion. His arguments, addressed to the common sense, to the natural affections, and to the secret wishes of those who heard him, made upon their minds a deep impression. Dunstan was alarmed, and he scrupled not, by the exertion of power, or by the aid of the most contemptible and shameful imposture, to silence any farther opposition to his favourite scheme.*

* Spottiswoode, B. i. p. 27. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. I. folio. Hume's History of England, Vol. I. in his account of the Heptarchy. Petrie's History of the Catholic Church, published at the Hague, 1662, Part I. p. 227, 228.

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Popes resisted by the civil and ecclesiastical powers, combined.

But the clergy, not satisfied with their own efforts, often cordially joined with the civil power in resisting the oppression of the popes, or of those who sought to undermine the independence of the Scottish church.

In the progress of the hierarchy to the form which in succeeding ages it assumed, various orders of priests were gradually introduced. The presidents of the colleges of presbyters were soon regarded as invested with a more distinguished rank, and were honoured with the peculiar appellation of bishops. When the bishops of the different churches met together upon great occasions, to decide upon the doctrines, the ceremonies, or the heresies of Christians, the equality which had at first subsisted amongst them was destroyed by the exaltation of the most distinguished of their number ; who, from their residence in the capital cities of the nations to which they belonged, were styled metropolitans, or, from their superior dignity in the church, archbishops.* As the privilege of ordaining deacons and priests had been restricted to the bishops, the consecration of prelates came, by analogy, to be considered as the province of the metropolitans in those countries, into which this high order had been introduced. No metropolitans having been recog-

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, French translation by Courayer, B. ii. Vol. I. p. 346, 347. Mosheim, Vol. I. p. 145, 146. Campbell's Lectures, Vol. I. p. 284. Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 660—662.

raised in Scotland, the bishops of that nation, from a desire not to dissent from the practice of the most considerable states in Christendom, had sometimes applied to the archbishops of York, to countenance, by their presence, the solemn dedication of the Scottish prelates to the episcopal office. This, however, implied no acknowledgment of any right of controul in the archbishop of York, and no right was for a long time founded upon it.*

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But after the church of Scotland, from its increasing affluence, dazzled the eyes of ambition, the primates of York claimed this privilege of consecrating, and disputed the validity of any consecration which their authority had not sanctioned.

When this claim was urged, the clergy and the 1159. sovereigns of Scotland were filled with indignation. They saw that the consequence of admitting it would be the complete subjection of their church : a consequence attended with evils of sufficient magnitude to justify every attempt to prevent it. The steadiness with which the claim was resisted, reflects the highest credit upon the manliness and good sense of our ancient clergy. Even when it assumed the form most calculated to overawe their resolution—an archbishop of York, despairing of success, unless strengthened by influence more powerful than his own, having prevailed upon the pope to issue a bull, conferring on him the title and the rights of the metropolitan of Scotland—the king and the

* Dalrymple's Collections, p. 242, 243.

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clergy, unawed by the superstitious reverence with which they had been accustomed to bend in submission to the mandates of Rome, or making this reverence yield to the imperious necessity of defending their privileges, refused to pay to the bull any deference or respect. This firmness was finally crowned with the victory which it deserved. The pope, convinced that they would never yield to the church of England, repented of having rashly interfered to compel them; and to compensate for his partiality to the archbishop of York, he granted them full power to consecrate their own bishops. Notwithstanding this decision, the claim was renewed at a time, when it was expected, that the anxiety of the Scottish clergy to deliver their sovereign from his captivity in England, would have taken away all desire of resistance. The bishops, however, with unshaken resolution declared, that they had never yielded subjection to the English church, and that they never would.*

Popes resisted by the monarchs of Scotland.

The kings of Scotland also distinguished themselves, by their opposition to the insolence and the tyranny of the popes.

After the pontiffs had been acknowledged as the heads of the Christian community, as the successors of St Peter, and the vicegerents of God, it became

* Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, Vol. I. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 38. Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. I. Dalrymple's *Annals*, quarto edition, Vol. I. p. 18. Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. I. Chalmer's *Caledonia*, Vol. I. Buchanan, Lib. Sept. Buchanan's *Preface* to Knox. Petrie's *Hist. Part I.* p. 378.

common to solicit their confirmation of the election to the vacant sees in the various countries subjected to their authority. For ages this was considered in its true light, as an expression of homage, and a respectful deference to their spiritual exaltation. But as ambition is seldom satisfied while any thing remains to be acquired, the popes gradually urged that they had a right to nominate to the most lucrative benefices; and actually bestowed them upon their own dependents, often in direct opposition to the sovereigns who had before possessed the power of conferring them. Introductory Book.

We cannot wonder that, even in ages of the gloomiest superstition, such usurpation should have kindled the most decided spirit of resistance. It did so in several of our princes, who acted with a vigour, which, under happier circumstances, and in a more refined period, would have prevented any farther attempts to controul or to destroy their prerogative. In the reign of William, which extended through the latter part of the twelfth, and the beginning of the thirteenth century, the bishopric of St Andrews having become vacant, the king, aware of the importance of filling, with a person attached to himself, an office which conferred such ample power of influencing the public mind, determined to procure the election of Hugh, his own chaplain, in whose loyalty he placed implicit confidence. The chapter, however, either from a desire of thwarting the king, and thus asserting that independence of the civil

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authority which they were anxious to establish, or from real admiration of the person whom they had selected, chose John, surnamed the Scot, a man born in England, though probably descended from ancestors who had migrated from Scotland. By this bold step, the power of the state and that of the church were engaged in a struggle for superiority. William resolved that the authority of the sceptre should be effectually asserted. He procured, by the assistance of the bishop of Glasgow, the nomination of Hugh ; and he immediately seized the revenues of the see, till a decision favourable to his wishes should be obtained. John appealed to Rome. His appeal, as recognizing the rights of the popes to interfere, was, agreeably to an established maxim of the papal court, most graciously received. The election of his rival was annulled, and the legate was enjoined to make enquiry into the election of John.

In conformity to his instructions, the legate called an assembly of the Scottish clergy, declared in favour of John, and actually consecrated him. The king was not intimidated by this defiance. Although he saw that his resistance would bring upon him all the weight of papal censure, he banished the bishop approved by the pope, together with the most active of his adherents. Irritated by an intrepidity upon which he had not calculated, and of which the abject submission of continental Europe had prevented him from forming a conception, the legate laid the

diocese of St Andrews under an interdict, and thus turned against the sovereign the most powerful prejudices of his subjects. William had the magnanimity to pay to this as little respect as he had done to the arrogant consecration which preceded it ; and it thus became necessary for the pope directly to interfere, in vindication of his mysterious and oppressive authority. He commanded the clergy to instal John, and to yield him clerical obedience within eight days after receiving the mandate ; peremptorily enjoining them to obey God and the holy church, that was himself, rather than man, if the king, either of his own accord, or by the counsel of wicked men, should continue refractory. Not satisfied with excommunicating Hugh, the candidate proposed by the king, he invested Roger, a violent and intriguing archbishop of York, with legatine powers, authorizing him to excommunicate William himself, and thus withdraw from him the allegiance and the affections of his people.

The king remained inflexible ; and, by doing so, presented a singular contrast to the conduct of Henry II. of England, who was his contemporary. At the very period at which the Scottish sovereign so firmly asserted his prerogative, that intelligent, and, for the age in which he lived, accomplished prince, unable to resist the pope, or to counteract the reverence for the holy see which his subjects entertained, was compelled; in order to

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save his throne, to perform ignominious penance, at the shrine of the haughty and turbulent Becket.

There is reason to believe, that John beheld, with the deepest regret, the melancholy consequences which resulted from his election ; and that, guided by principles, and actuated by feelings, which exalt his character, and transmit him to posterity as worthy of the promotion which had been intended for him, he was earnestly desirous to restore peace, by withdrawing his pretensions. As it is always delightful to contemplate the fair side of human nature, more particularly when it is presented where there could be little hope of beholding it, I would gladly acquiesce in the account of one of the most judicious and candid of our historians, that the moderation of John was applauded by the pontiff, who, desiring to emulate it, consented to retract his awful denunciations, and to approve the resolution of the king. But it is too apparent that the reverse was the case ; that he insisted that John should continue his opposition, and that he even threatened him with the utmost severity of censure if he dared to disobey.

The archbishop of York, who had been exasperated by the opposition made to his pretensions respecting consecration, gratified his resentment, while he discharged what he conceived to be his duty. He laid the kingdom under an interdict, and the most unhappy effects would, in all likelihood, have resulted, had not the pope, at this critical period, terminated his career of earthly ambition. The

succeeding pope, either admiring the intrepidity, or alarmed at the obstinacy of William, listened with avidity to his desire of reconciliation, and rewarded the earnestness with which he professed to seek it, by virtually condemning his own predecessor; for he proposed as a compromise, that both candidates should leave the field; it being understood that the king's chaplain should, immediately after, receive the sanction which had so long been denied to him. The king, thus gaining his object, did not advert to the artifice of the pope. He probably did not discern that the contest, which had so happily terminated, might be revived against a future monarch, and even be rendered more formidable, by William having received from Rome what belonged to him as the sovereign of Scotland.*

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While some of the Scottish princes thus guarded against the power, others attempted to set limits to the avarice of the church of Rome, by which she was no less distinguished, than by the ambition which marked her councils. It is impossible to read the ecclesiastical history of the dark ages, without amazement at the scandalous devices to which the popes had recourse for draining the treasures of Europe. Crusades, holy wars, and contributions for promoting the great objects of religion, were all employed to fill the treasury of the papal court,

* Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, Vol. I. Spottiswood, Book ii. p. 39. Dalrymple's *Annals*, Vol. I. under William's reign. Chalmers's *Caledonia*.

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and to convert Christianity into a lucrative system of finance.*

The pope had required the clergy of Scotland to pay to Henry the king of England a tenth of their benefices, under pretence of enabling him to send forces to the Holy Land. Alexander III., who then sat upon the throne, refused to permit the money to be given. Although he heartily approved wresting from the profane hands of the infidels, the country which had been honoured by the residence and ministry of our Saviour, and he was determined to send some champions to exhaust their fortunes, and lose their lives in this infatuated enterprize, he would not allow a foreign sovereign to impose a tax upon his people. But although, in this instance, Alexander displayed the intrepid spirit of an independent monarch, and was entitled to the gratitude of his subjects, his life was embittered by dissensions, to which the insolence of the popes and of his own clergy gave rise. The priesthood cherished against him the most inveterate hatred; and when, by an unhappy accident, he was deprived of his life, they represented his death as a judgment of the Almighty. How opposite was the spirit which led to such an opinion, from that which dictated the generous and manly decision of Fordun! This historian, after reviewing the many virtues of the departed monarch, concludes with these striking words, evidently alluding to the superstitious and uncharitable judgment which had been industrious-

* Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 676.

ly circulated ; “ let no one question the salvation of this king, because of his violent death ; he who has lived well cannot die ill.”* Introductory Book.

After having thus detailed, with the deepest interest, a few of those efforts which were made to assert the liberties of our countrymen, and to preserve some faint conceptions of sound policy, and of rational religion, it is painful to state that these efforts soon ceased, and to contemplate that complete subjection to papal dominion, which existed for several centuries before the reformation. Causes which rendered this resistance ultimately ineffectual.

We might have been inclined to hope, that the sentiments of independence which were so long cherished in Scotland, would, in process of time, have acquired additional strength. They were so plainly in harmony with almost the very instincts of our nature, so conformable to the clearest dictates of our reason, and so obviously conducive to the accomplishment of the great ends which the institution of society was intended to accomplish, that it is at first difficult to conceive how they could have been eradicated. But there were causes which sufficiently explain what is so much to be deplored, and account for that degradation to which Scotland, with the greatest nations of Europe, was for a season reduced.

For ages after the influx of the Gothic nations into the most enlightened countries of the world, Ignorance.

* Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, Lib. x. chap. 40. Vol. II. p. 128.
Dalrymple's *Annals*, under the reign of Alexander III.

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the inhabitants were nearly in a savage state. Scotland was peopled by numerous tribes, having few or no bonds of union; and the continuance of the most cruel and rancorous hostilities, checked every approach to the civilization, which unfolds the faculties and exalts the nature of man. Even after the extinction of the Pictish sovereignty, by which the people were reduced under the subjection of one monarch, the ignorance of their former condition remained. They were cut off from all access to the treasures of ancient knowledge; and the haughty and contemptuous oppression of wealthy nobles, spread brutality and intellectual darkness over the great mass of the community. Nor did these powerful barons exceed, in the desire of mental cultivation, the multitude whom they degraded. The sports of the field, or the hereditary feuds of families, which, at a period when the bands of government were feeble, were avenged by the parties whose pride or whose passions were exasperated, fully engrossed their attention; and so far were they from having felt the elevating love of science, that the most considerable of them could not subscribe, or even read the acts, to which, in their public capacity, they gave their assent. A nation in which ignorance was thus diffused and preserved, opened a wide field for the artifices of the interested and the ambitious, more particularly when these artifices were veiled under the apparent humility of affected piety and devotion.

The religious feelings, except perhaps in the very lowest state of human depression, exist with much strength, and give a decided direction to the conduct. ^{Introductory Book.} The hope or the dread of futurity is interwoven in our constitution ; and the apprehension to which the consciousness of guilt, when connected with hereafter, gives rise, creates a strong tendency to listen with reverence and with acquiescence, to whatever is calculated to remove it, or to render all apprehension unnecessary. In such a state, superstition rapidly gains ground ; and it is certain that the popes, with much dexterity, availed themselves of it. After having converted it into a powerful ally, they threw aside every restraint, and advanced pretensions so indecent, and in such direct opposition to the spirit and the precepts of that pure religion from which they professed to derive the sanctified character with which they had invested themselves, that had there been even the slightest dawn of intellectual light, they must have been detested as the most impious and the most destructive impostors. ^{Superstition.}

But the successors of St Peter were perhaps chiefly indebted, for the complete establishment of their overbearing and pernicious influence, to the unwearied zeal, and the interested labours of the monastic orders. These orders took their rise from circumstances naturally leading to the principles which they avowed ; and continuing, for a considerable period, to act in conformity to these principles, they gradually increased in wealth and in power, ^{Activity and zeal of the monastic orders.}

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till, in the end, they gave a new form to the community of Christendom.*

The dreadful persecutions which afflicted the infancy of Christianity, induced numbers to seek security in the most dreary solitudes. After this motive, which rendered such conduct so reasonable, fortunately could no longer influence the converts, partly from a propensity in human nature to substitute bodily mortification for purity of heart, and partly from that union to which I have already alluded, between the sublime doctrines of the gospel, and the fanciful speculations of the Platonic philosophy, the idea was fondly cherished, and, in the delusion of enthusiasm, eagerly carried into practice, that an austere and sequestered mode of life was in the highest degree favourable for obtaining intimate communion with the Deity, and for producing that sanctity of mind and conduct, to which such communion, it was conceived, could not fail to give rise. But the love of society is so strongly fixed in the breast, that it can never, in any great body of men, be thoroughly rooted out. Accordingly, when the first fervour of a heated imagination had abated, the pride of mortification, which derives its most exquisite enjoyment from the applause and the veneration of that world

* Father Paul's Treatise on Beneficiary Matters. p. 9, of a Translation attached to History of Council of Trent, translated by Brent. Mosheim, V. I. p. 223. Campbell, Vol. II. p. 143, 144. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 11, 12.

which it professes to despise and to forsake, began to operate, inducing these fanatics to associate with each other, and, although they abstained from temporal avocations, to choose, as the scene upon which their abstinence was displayed, places frequented by those who could not attain such sublimity of devotion. The consequence, which in a dark age was to be expected, resulted from this change, which piety or ambition suggested. The multitude, totally ignorant of the nature and the beneficence of the Supreme Being, and of the only rational service which can be offered to him, regarded the rigid virtues, or rather errors of the monks, with peculiar reverence; considered their self-denial as entitling them to esteem and charity; and, with the most strange inconsistency, loaded them with wealth, the most effectual instrument for destroying the sentiments and abolishing the practices which had excited veneration.

Scotland had not escaped from the influence of monkish piety. Many individuals, soon after the introduction of Christianity, had retired from the pursuits and occupations of life; and, devoting themselves to solitude, had only occasionally relinquished it, that they might diffuse and enforce the religion to which they had been converted.* About the middle, or the end of the sixth century, Columba, who holds so distinguished a place in the

* Fordun's *Scotichronicon*. Buchanan. Holinshed's *Chronicle*.

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religious history of the northern parts of Britain, advised that they should be gathered into colleges or cloisters, and that rules should be prescribed to them.* For a long period after their institution, they preserved the simplicity, and continued in the poverty to which they had been originally attached. But they were gradually corrupted. The superstition of the times led those who were actuated by it, to bestow on cloisters the most valuable possessions ; and their inhabitants had not fortitude to resist the ensnaring and seducing power of prosperity.

For the vast increase of their temporal resources, they were indebted to some of the best of our ancient monarchs. David I., who rendered his reign illustrious by his equitable administration, and by the anxiety with which he promoted the welfare of his people, was unfortunately induced, by his religious prejudices, to augment an evil, which the soundest policy should have rendered him eager to diminish. He made the most profuse additions to the wealth of the clergy, but more particularly of the monks ; he rebuilt the monasteries, which the ravages of time or of war had destroyed ; and he increased the number of them by new foundations. The effects of this liberality were equally prejudicial to the welfare of his kingdom, and to the persons to whom it

* Spottiswoode's History, Book i. p. 9.

was extended. By thus diminishing the revenues and estates of the crown, it has been asserted that he reduced his successors to difficulties which they attempted to lessen or remove, by unwarrantably forfeiting the domains of their noblest subjects, by oppressing the great body of the people, and by undertaking predatory excursions into England, in which the flower of the youth was cut off, while the sovereigns themselves not unfrequently fell a sacrifice to the fury of their enemies.* That this account has been in some degree exaggerated by the imaginations of the historians who have transmitted it, is not improbable. There certainly remained to succeeding monarchs sufficient affluence to enable them to multiply monasteries; but, after making every abatement, the impolicy of the royal grants admits not of a doubt.

If these grants thus injured the prosperity of the kingdom, they were no less injurious to the monks who received them; for they took from them the virtues by which they had formerly been distinguished, destroyed all inclination to cultivate their minds, and introduced sensuality into the seats of devotion. Spottiswoode indeed complains, that the writers who condemn the monarch, did so because the monastic orders afterwards degenerated, and that they thus reasoned from an accidental abuse to the impropriety of what was abused; a

* Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol I. Buchanan, Lib. Sept. David Buchanan's Preface to Knox's History, p. 18.

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mode of arguing which, he justly observes, might be employed against the most valuable blessings that we have received from the bounty of heaven.* But the enlightened prelate might have seen, that this plea could not here be conclusively urged. The direct tendency of these gifts of the sovereign was to produce the degeneracy which followed; and therefore the wisdom of the gifts was most properly arraigned. Let it not, however, be forgotten, that, in the case of David, the liberality which has been reprobated proceeded from the most sincere, though mistaken piety; and let us not, as we pass, withhold the tribute due to a monarch, who deserves to be held in grateful veneration,—for he was the Father of his people. When he died, says Buchanan, who had certainly little inclination to flatter royalty, his subjects mourned, not as if they had been deprived of a king, but of a most indulgent parent. That their love was well-founded cannot be doubted, when we read the eloquent and affecting representation, which the same historian has given of his character. “As he equalled the best of former kings in war, he excelled them in the pursuits of peace; and to such a height of virtue was he enabled to attain, that the most learned men, who have delineated the model of a perfect king, could not, in the ardour of fancy, draw so fair a portrait as David actually exhibited.”†

* Spottiswoode's History, Book ii. p. 34, 35.

† Buchanan, Lib. Sept.

But although the monks of Scotland, from the superstition of the people, and the impolitic profusion of nobles and of monarchs, rapidly increased in affluence and in corruption, they did not, all at once, declare themselves in any peculiar degree the advocates of papal despotism. Their attachment to the Holy See was occasioned, and was long secured, by a practice which was first introduced on the continent of Europe, and which did not become general in Scotland, till the importation of some foreign orders of regular clergy, in the thirteenth century, led the Scottish orders to perceive its amazing importance.*

In conformity with the principles and nature of diocesan episcopacy, the monks, with their abbot, were everywhere placed under the inspection of the bishop in whose diocese they resided. They were accountable to him for their conduct, and he was entitled to examine into the economy and discipline of the monastery, into the application of the revenue, and into their submission to the rules which, by their vows, they were bound to observe. But increasing wealth, and the possession of popular veneration, soon expanded the ambition of the abbots. They submitted with reluctance to this inspection; they neglected or resisted the injunctions of their ordinaries; and, to get rid altogether of an interference which, upon many ac-

* Spottiswoode's History, B. ii. p. 43. Buchanan's Preface to Knox, p. 18. Chalmers's Caledonia, Vol. I.

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counts, they were desirous to abolish, they applied to the popes for exemption, imploring that they might be considered as depending immediately upon the Holy See. The pontiffs, with their usual discernment, saw how useful to them it might be, to secure the cordial support of such a powerful and a revered order of men. Without the slightest regard to the rights of the bishops, which, upon all occasions, indeed, they sought to abridge, they granted the request, and conferred exemption from episcopal jurisdiction; a practice which the most enlightened friends of the established religion lamented, as directly calculated to introduce confusion, anarchy, and rebellion into the church.*

The monastic orders repaid with gratitude the obligation under which they had been laid by their artful and ambitious patrons. They advanced with the most steady perseverance every encroachment of Rome, directing their influence with much success to confirm that shocking spiritual despotism, which violated equally the privileges and common sense of mankind; which sported with the most amiable feelings of the human heart; and which, while it held the language of the tenderest compassion for those against whom it wreaked its vengeance, exhibited,

* Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, Vol. I. p. 347. Do. on Beneficiary Matters, p. 14. The first instance of the exemption above mentioned, took place in the year 751, Pope Zachary in that year having exempted the monastery of Fulda from the jurisdiction of all bishops except the bishop of Rome. Jortin's Remarks, Vol. III. p. 75.

in the dungeons of the Inquisition, scenes of cruelty, upon which it is impossible to reflect without horror and detestation.* Introductory Book.

In Scotland, the monks or friars pursued the same course with the regular clergy in other countries. They taught, that whatever might be the vices of the sacred order, these vices did not fall under the jurisdiction of profane, that is, of civil magistrates; that the priesthood was subjected only to God and to the pope, whom, with the most indecent and impious presumption, they represented as invested with almost divine authority; and that they might, by increasing superstition, increase the influence which was founded upon it, they alarmed mankind with the torments of purgatory, while, at the same time, they pointed out by what means, and by what gifts, all might, through the mediation of priests, be delivered from them.† Unhappily, too extensive a field had been left open for the exertions of the monks; while the state of the public mind rendered whatever was sanctioned by them nearly as sacred as the immediate dictates of inspiration.

The zeal which, in the purest times of the church, had distinguished the secular clergy of Scotland, was weakened by the wealth and honours which they acquired. Their efforts to convert, or to im-

* Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 642. Campbell's Lectures, Vol. II. p. 303.

† Buchanan, Lib. Decimus.

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press upon those who had been converted the truths and the precepts of religion, became every day more feeble, and their attachment to the amusements and the pleasures of life, or the solicitude with which they prosecuted whatever ~~to~~ gratify ambition, so much estranged them from their duty, that, even so early as the ninth century, it was necessary to correct these evils by legislative enactments. At a convention held at Scone, the following regulations were framed, too plainly evincing that the abuses, which they were designed to remedy, had reached to an alarming height: It was ordained, "that the clergy should reside upon their charges, and not interfere with secular business; that they should diligently instruct the people, and enforce their instructions by the purity of their lives; that they should not keep hawks, hounds, or horses, for pleasure; that they should carry no weapons; that they should not be pleaders in civil causes, but live contented with the provision which had been made for them; and that if, upon trial, it was found that they had transgressed any of these points, they should, for the first offence, be subject to a fine, and for the second, be deprived of their office, and of the emoluments which they derived from it."*

* Fordun's *Scotchronicon*, Lib. iv. chap. ix. Boeth. *Hist. Spotiswoode*, Book ii. p. 25. Innes's *Critical Essay*, Vol. II. It had been found necessary on the continent of Europe, to adopt similar regulations. See Jortin, Vol. III. p. 161; and it appears by some Canons of the Council of Toledo, granted so early as 675, that even the bishops had become very depraved. Jortin, Vol. III. p. 59.

These wise and salutary laws had not the effect ^{Introductory Book.} which ought to have resulted from them. The criminal negligence of the clergy seems rapidly to have increased; and there cannot be a more striking proof of their degeneracy, or of the low state of religion, and the abject ignorance of the people, than that, in the eleventh century, the observance of the Lord's day and the celebration of the communion had ceased; so that it required the most active exertions of the pious queen of Malcolm III., to restore what, in any country professing to retain the belief of Christianity, it is deplorable to think could have been intermitted.*

Although the zeal of the queen renewed, for a season, the attempts of the clergy to instruct her subjects, and to preserve some knowledge of religion, these attempts were made with reluctance. The sacred order shunned, when they could, every public exhibition, and they gladly adopted the practice of employing the monks and friars to relieve them of a burden, which they had not discernment to perceive that it was their interest, no less than their duty, cheerfully to bear. To those monks, who were delighted with the opportunity afforded to them of influencing the sentiments of the nation, they gave a small share of their revenues, and from that moment considered that no call to exertion could be made on them.†

* Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, under the reign of Malcolm III.

† Buchanan, Lib. Decimus.

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They at length indeed saw the error of which they had been guilty. They found the monks rising above them, and transferring to themselves the reverence which they had once possessed. But they saw this when it was too late ; for when they attempted to resume the office of preaching, the regulars, backed by the power of Rome, resisted them. The case had been the same through the greater part of Europe. At the council of Trent, the bishops loudly complained of it ; but, notwithstanding their efforts to obtain redress, and their just representation both of the abuses which the regulars had introduced, and of the frivolous or pernicious tendency of their discourses, the secular clergy were not restored to their original condition ; the monks not unnaturally, and with much truth, insisting, that, had it not been for them, the very name of Christianity would have been extinguished.*

The church of Rome could not have employed advocates better qualified to serve it. In Scotland they were held in the most profound veneration. Such indeed was the notion of their sanctity, and so firm was the persuasion, that admission into their fraternity was alone sufficient to secure the kingdom of heaven, that it was not uncommon, even for nobles, to assume upon their death-bed the habit of particular orders, and to leave the world under the conviction, that whatever had been the errors of their

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Vol. I. p. 253, and 267, 268. Campbell's Lectures, Vol. II. p. 152-155.

past life, no doubt about their salvation could now be entertained.* Introductory Book.

And there was one obvious reason why the monks, notwithstanding their vices, their sensuality, and the perversion of their intellectual faculties, were thus respected.—They were the depositaries of the small degree of knowledge, which, even in the gloomiest ages of Europe, had been preserved; and amidst our condemnation of what, in their practices cannot be justified, we owe some gratitude to them for having secured, in their monasteries, the sacred writings, and the most valuable of the ancient profane authors; for having exercised the mechanical arts; and for having, by engaging in the useful labours of agriculture, and the elegant amusement of gardening, laid the foundation for those improvements which have embellished and beautified the country, and for those comforts, and that abundance which are now so universally enjoyed.†

Such were the methods by which the influence of the popes, so widely diffused in other countries, was established in Scotland; and it is impossible to form accurate conceptions of the infinite value of those blessings which have resulted from the reformation, without contemplating, in its true light, that system which this influence was exerted to support, but which, under the mercy of divine Providence, the efforts of the reformers fortunately weakened or removed.

* Dalrymple's Annals. This practice was at one time very common. Jortin, Vol. III. p. 59, who mentions the case of a King of Essex in 678.

† Ibid. Jortin, Vol. III. p. 193.

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In modern times, the shocking nature of papal usurpation and dominion, does not, with sufficient force, strike upon our minds, because this, in fact, is in some degree destroyed. Although there are many nations which profess the Roman Catholic religion, and although the inhabitants of these nations adhere to doctrines and sentiments nominally the same with those which prevailed at the period of which I treat, there has been effected, upon their opinions, a revolution most salutary to the peace and the happiness of society. The reformation, even where it was most furiously opposed, benignly imparted some of its spirit, and spread a degree of light, before which the most enormous abuses of papal despotism have long since vanished. To become acquainted with that state of religion, and of the policy connected with it, which was prevalent before this signal revolution, we must look to the declarations and practices of those who filled the chair of St Peter, and to the solemn enactments by which, even after the reformation had infused intellectual vigour into the human breast, a general council having maturely deliberated, and listened to the representations made by the ambassadors of the most powerful states, decided what ought to be received as the doctrine of the church.

Some of the steps, by which the bishops of Rome advanced to dignity and authority, have been already traced, and some exertions have been specified, implying that they were inclined so to extend the

claim which they had long made to spiritual domination, as to comprehend under it a right to temporal jurisdiction. In prosecuting this scheme they were most successful. Unceasingly taking advantage of the contentions between rival sovereigns; of the mistaken policy which led these sovereigns, for the sake of gaining a momentary ascendancy over their enemies, to call in the aid of the pontiffs; of the ignorance which so long overspread Europe, and of the superstition which sprung from it; they at length overthrew every boundary to their ambition, and, arrogating to themselves unlimited sovereignty, they branded with impiety, and alarmed by the most dreadful denunciations, all who did not yield submission to the double sword which they now wielded.

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In the end of the thirteenth century, Boniface VIII., one of the most haughty and unprincipled of the popes, passed a decree, declaring it to be of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff: "One sword," he added, "must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to the spiritual power; whence, if the earthly power go astray, it must be judged by the spiritual power."*

The passions of this arrogant priest were so violent, and the indecency with which he yielded to their impetuosity formed so prominent a feature of

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 226, 227. Barrow's Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 540, 541. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. III. p. 12. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 31. Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. I. p. 36.

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his character, that a doctrine so extravagant as that proclaimed in his decree, might have been regarded as the result of temporary excitement, which, in his calmer moments, he would condemn or disavow. It was, however, never thrown out of sight by the court of Rome. It was renewed and confirmed by a council held under the pontificate of Leo X.; and succeeding popes, when it suited their views, did not hesitate to reduce it to practice. When Pius V. exasperated at her conduct, directed the thunders of the Vatican against Elizabeth the Queen of England, he employed the language which I am now to transcribe: "He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath delivered the one holy and apostolical church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone upon earth, namely to Peter, the chief of the apostles, and to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, to be governed in the fulness of his power. Him alone hath he constituted above all nations, and all kingdoms, that he might tear up, destroy, disperse, plant, and build." And in the same bull he declares, "that, by virtue of this authority, he pronounced Elizabeth to be a heretic, and the cherisher of heresy; he deprived her of all title to her kingdom, cancelled the oaths by which her subjects had sworn allegiance to her government, and prohibited them from yielding in future any obedience to her laws and commands."*

* Bull of Pope Pius V., in Camden's Annals, p. 179, and 181. A similar Bull was issued some years after by Pope Sextus V. against the

What the popes thus proclaimed in their public deeds, the most faithful of their adherents defended in their treatises against the enemies of Rome, or, what was considered as nearly synonymous, against all who sought to draw the line between civil and ecclesiastical sovereignty. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the republic of Venice resisted an arbitrary attempt of the reigning pontiff, and refused to submit to his interdict. The pontiff, offended at what he represented as an outrage against religion, authorized or permitted his theologians to rest the defence of his interdict upon these principles or maxims, which they confidently assumed: "That the temporal power of princes is subordinate to the ecclesiastical power; that the pope has power to deprive sovereigns of their kingdoms for errors in government, and even when no errors have been committed, if the good of the church can be promoted by such deprivation; that he can relieve subjects from their oath of fidelity, and even oblige them to take arms against their sovereign; that he has all power in heaven and in earth; that all princes are his subjects; that he is the temporal monarch of the whole earth; that all princes should appeal to him; that he can prescribe to them laws, and abrogate the statutes which they may have ordained; that he cannot err, being possessed of the holy spirit; that all are obliged to submit to his decisions, whether they regard them as just or as

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King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 540.

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violating justice; that in all doubtful points mankind should be directed by his opinions, even although these opinions should appear erroneous; that the pope is a god upon earth; that his sentence and that of God are the same; that to doubt of his power, is to doubt of the power of the Almighty; and that to limit the papal power to spiritual matters is to annihilate it.”*

It must be admitted, indeed, that these extravagant pretensions were not universally allowed in the Catholic world; that the kings of France, in particular, struggled, and with considerable success, to preserve the sceptre, which the intrigues of an artful priesthood would have wrested from them, and that the popes themselves varied their style, according to their prosperity or their depression. The spirit of popery, however, was exactly as it has been exhibited. That spirit was sometimes disguised, but it never was relinquished; the end at which the pontiffs aimed was at no time thrown out of sight; and even when apparently forgotten, it was secretly but steadily prosecuted.†

The popes then regarded themselves as the sovereigns of the earth, having a right to interfere in the domestic concerns of every nation; and the slightest acquaintance with history shews, that they regulated their practice by their theory; for it places be-

* Life of Father Paul, prefixed to Courayer's translation of the History of the Council of Trent, p. 40, 41.

† Du Pin's Ecclesiastical Hist. Cent. 14. ch. 2. Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 549, 550, and 554.

fore us the misery which, in consequence, distracted Europe, and retarded its progress in knowledge, in civilization, and in happiness. Introductory Book.

But these exorbitant claims would have little influenced remote states, had the popes not prosecuted their designs with consummate dexterity. Removed at a distance from many of the countries over which they ruled, and precluded, by their situation, from visiting those countries, they nevertheless secured in them all the most active adherents, who were able, not only to produce the utmost reverence for the papal authority in general, but even to carry on their scheme of universal empire. The clergy, revering the popes as the vicars of Christ, looked to them in later ages with the most submissive awe; and the pontiffs, taking advantage of this, bound them to assert the sacred prerogatives of St Peter, by the strongest motives which could determine human conduct. Every person who entered into holy orders was obliged to take an oath of fidelity; and the more dignified clergy could not procure the lucrative benefices, which they were so eager to acquire, without swearing, in the most express manner, that they would be the slaves of papal ambition. They solemnly swore, "that they would be faithful and obedient to the pope; that they would defend his person against every enemy; that they would never reveal any thing to his prejudice; that the rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the holy Roman church, and of their lord the pope,

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they would endeavour to preserve, defend, increase, and advance; that they would not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which any thing was devised against their lord, but that they would reveal to him whatever they should regard as hostile to his pretensions; that they would persecute and oppose all heretics and enemies of the pope; that at Rome they would, at stated times, account to him for their conduct, in discharging the pastoral office; and that they would humbly receive, and diligently execute, his apostolic commands.”*

But the popes did not trust solely to the obligation under which the clergy were thus laid. Accustomed, in their own unprincipled career, to violate the most explicit promises, and even to disregard the sacredness of an oath, they dreaded being assailed by similar corruption. They therefore interested the passions and the hopes of the priesthood, and, by throwing the revered mantle of St. Peter over their privileges and immunities, conjoined their cause with the stability and the power of the papal throne.

From a very early period of the church, the clergy had acquired the right, or were in the practice of judging in some of the most important causes. Deriving its origin from just views of Christianity, and from the desire of preventing dissension amongst the faithful, this jurisdiction was at first viewed by the bishops who exercised it as a painful sacrifice to

* Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 552-554.

the good of the community ; but it soon was highly valued, and assiduously enlarged.* The sovereigns of Scotland had too frequently interposed their authority to support it ; and, previous to the reformation, it comprehended under it almost every thing about which men differ or dispute. The popes confirmed to the clergy what this body were so eager to retain, and they added what laid the foundation of the most enormous abuses. They declared that ecclesiastics were independent of the civil magistrate, and wrested from him the power of punishing, in the sacred order, even the most atrocious crimes.

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Much as the priesthood must have been gratified by these rights, the possession of them did not destroy their anxiety about the immense wealth which they had accumulated. The pope rendered their property inviolable. It could not, like other property, be alienated ; and thus guarded against diminution, it rapidly increased, till it absorbed almost half the property of the kingdoms of Europe. Even to the necessities of the state the clergy were not compelled to contribute. Patriotism often led them to do so ; but this was entirely voluntary, for the most urgent claims of their rulers, they could, supported as they were by the great head of the church, have effectually resisted.†

That I have not exaggerated the privileges, which,

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Vol. I. p. 532, 537. Campbell's Lectures, Vol. I p. 60.

† Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 566 and 642. Campbell, Vol. II. p. 194.

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in the true spirit of papal dominion, were communicated to the clergy, must be apparent to all who have studied the acts and decisions of the church. The theologians who defended the cause of Rome, never hesitated to maintain, that ecclesiastical immunities flowed, not from human concession, but from divine right; that the clergy were not subject to princes, even in cases of treason; that the priesthood ought to be the judges of law; and that they owe to princes no taxes or contributions.* At the termination of the council of Trent, after all the modifications which the zealous and able exertions of the ambassadors, representing the supreme civil magistrates in the most considerable kingdoms, had introduced, the following decree upon this interesting subject was sanctioned: "The fathers of the council declared, that it was their will and determination, that secular princes should not only restore to the church all her rights, but that they should make all their subjects pay to the clergy the respect which was due to them; that they would not permit officers or inferior magistrates to violate the privileges or the persons of the clergy, but that princes themselves and their ministers should yield obedience to the constitutions of popes and councils." The council farther renewed, and enjoined all mankind to observe, all the decrees of general councils, and all the regulations of popes in favour of the clergy and their liberties, exhorting sove-

* Life of Father Paul, by Courayer, p. 40.

reigns to respect the property of the church, and to guard it against the attempts of all who might wish to injure or to diminish it.* Introductory Book.

But, in addition to all these obligations, the popes bound the clergy to their interests by the patronage which they could exert in favour of such of the sacred order as secured their approbation. The pontiffs succeeded in establishing their right to nominate to the richest benefices in Christendom. They either expedited bulls nominating persons totally unknown to the princes in whose dominions the benefices were situated, or, if they were eager to ingratiate themselves with these princes, by permitting them to appoint, they uniformly found means to make the election fall upon some of their own devoted adherents. Hence churchmen considered themselves as vassals of the pope; they courted his favour with unremitting assiduity; and they spent part of their time at Rome, that they might yield personal homage, and might be more thoroughly initiated in that reverence which it was to be their occupation widely to diffuse.†

It might, however, have happened, that the attainment of their object, and their having acquired all which they could enjoy, would relax their diligence, or would even lead them, when they took offence, to murmur or to disobey. But the policy of Rome had made provision against this, by creating ho-

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Lib. viii. Vol. II. p. 658.

† Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 677 and 702.

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nours, which were regarded as of inestimable value, which were sparingly conferred, and which exalted those who received them to a level with the princes of the earth.* Where these could not be bestowed, a scheme had been devised, by which the popes could add indefinitely to the wealth of their dependents, and thus prevent any limit from being placed to their expectations of promotion.

In primitive times there was no benefice, the possession of which did not impose the duties connected with it. But as corruption gained ground, this was disregarded. In those ages of the church when it was exposed to persecution, it frequently happened, that persons properly qualified could not immediately be found for supplying the vacancies which had unexpectedly occurred; and the only mode which suggested itself of diminishing the evil consequences resulting from this cause, was to commend the congregation, which had been deprived of its spiritual guide, to the care of some neighbouring pastor. In such cases, however, he to whom the vacant charge was commended, did not receive for his own use any share of the emoluments of the benefice, but he managed the revenue for the person to whom it was to be permanently assigned. This disinterested and truly Christian inspection of congregations, could not continue when the love of religion became feeble. The commendatories gradually appropriated the revenue; and

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Vol. I. p. 403. Beneficiary Matters, p. 15, 16. Campbell, Vol. II. p. 218, 219.

in their anxiety to retain it, they rather retarded the nomination of a resident pastor. The popes soon took this matter under their immediate cognizance. They authorized the practice, that clergymen officiating or residing in one place, should possess, in commendam, other benefices, out of the revenues of which a small part was given to him who discharged the duty.* The period during which these livings in commendam were held, was by degrees protracted, till, in the end, they were assigned for life. The bulls, which originally ran thus, "We recommend to you this church, that during a particular time it may be served and governed,"—assumed this form, infinitely more delightful to the idle and unprincipled priests who received them :—"we recommend this church to you, that your dignity and splendour may be more suitably maintained." Thus might the clergy look for accessions to their wealth from the most distant nations ; and the consequence was, that, while the affluence of the higher ranks amongst them became excessive, and their luxury disgraceful, the influence of the church of Rome, and its power of directing the efforts of its ecclesiastical members, acquired the most formidable strength.†

But it was not merely from the love of temporal and spiritual dominion, that the popes devised and

* Father Paul's Treatise upon Livings held in Commendam, in his History of the Council of Trent, Vol. I. p. 404. Do. on Beneficiary Matters, p. 53, 54.

† History of the Council of Trent, Vol. II. p. 178. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 30.

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executed the scheme of government which has been delineated. They constantly kept in view replenishing the treasury of St Peter, and they succeeded in drawing an ample revenue from the countries which submitted to their yoke. Though they guarded the possessions of the church against the profane encroachments of the civil power, they left them open for themselves. Under various pretences they extorted from the clergy immense sums of money, which, although often paid with reluctance, were seldom resolutely refused. The first fruits of every benefice, that is, the revenue for the first year after induction, which were originally asked only upon particular emergencies, came to be uniformly and rigorously exacted. The slightest hesitation in complying with the demand, would have forever shut, against him who was guilty of it, all access to the papal throne. A heavy tax was imposed upon confirmations; and for the mantle, which, blessed by the pope, was sent as the sacred badge of the episcopal office, there was required a compensation, too plainly evincing from what motives the blessing upon it had been pronounced.*

Another source of the revenue of the pontiff arose from the ambition or the avarice of the priesthood. When pluralities were finally established, the court of Rome, which uniformly preserved as much appearance of religion as she deemed expe-

* Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 676. He mentions, on the authority of Matthew Paris, that in the time of Henry I. the Bishop of York paid L.10,000 Sterling for his pall.

dient for increasing her wealth and her power, insisted upon the necessity of obtaining a dispensation to qualify for holding accumulated benefices : and she not unfairly regulated her exactions for sanctioning what the dispensation implied to be wrong, according to the amount of the revenues thus diverted from the important purposes for which they had been piously appropriated.*

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Great, however, as were these resources of the successors of St Peter, they were not sufficient to satisfy the demands of the Roman treasury. The popes supplied the deficiency from the riches of the laity; often pressing upon them with a severity which, in the case of the clergy, was not unfrequently mitigated. It is unnecessary to enumerate all the devices which the ingenuity of hypocrisy devised for enriching the papal court. The most striking, or scandalous of them, will soon demand our particular attention. It is sufficient to observe, that the avarice of the popes was most oppressive, and sometimes created a disposition to resist, which it required all their dexterity to controul.† Abundantly sensible how acutely men feel, when the property from which their wants are supplied, or their comforts afforded, is invaded, and aware, that even the priesthood, placed at a distance from the scrutinizing eye of the mercenary courtiers of Rome, might unite in eluding the impositions to which they were subjected, the pontiffs were in the

* Father Paul on Beneficiary Matters, p. 42 and 60. Barrow, p. 676.

† Barrow's Discourse concerning the Unity of the Church, Vol. I. of his works, p. 775.

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practice of sending legates directly from themselves, to prevent such evasions. These men generally executed, with rigour, their obnoxious commission; for, even when they proved faithless to their masters, they exacted from the credulous, the zealous, and the penitent, not only what they had been instructed to demand, but as much more as they considered requisite for procuring the luxuries, in which, with melancholy departure from the moderation of apostolic piety, the messengers of the holy see, without compunction, indulged.*

To complete the edifice of papal policy, the popes anxiously encouraged appeals to Rome. They specified a number of causes in which such appeals were essentially requisite. They listened with complacency to complaints even against their own agents; and by thus making their court the place of the last resort for the discontented or the injured, they created a deference to their authority, which the interests and the passions of men conspired to perpetuate.†

Methods adopted by the popes to secure its influence over mankind.

We have thus found, that the religion of the church of Rome, if that term can with any propriety be applied to what was subversive of all religion, gradually assumed the form which it at length attained; that the popes availed themselves of every thing which could assist them in increasing their

* Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 31, 32. Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 677.

† Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Vol. II. p. 623, 624. Neale's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. III. Campbell's Lectures, Vol. II. p. 41.

power ; and that they at length imposed upon the world a system of the most peculiar and insidious despotism. It might, however, have been imagined, that, although mankind did not perceive what were the vast objects of papal ambition, while it was struggling for additional elevation and influence, they would have regarded with horror the arrogant pretensions which it finally made, and would have awakened from the delusion under which they had for ages remained. It is therefore necessary to inquire, by what means a consequence so natural and so much to be apprehended was prevented.

Before the popes could bring into action the machinery by which they so long influenced the minds, and regulated the conduct of men, it was necessary to surmount a difficulty, the contemplation of which might have alarmed or shaken even their intrepidity. They professed to derive their authority from St Peter, who was entitled, as they maintained, to transmit to them that authority in consequence of the supremacy which his Master had conferred on him. They were, therefore, at least apparently, and this is all which can be said for many of them, the disciples of Jesus, and the teachers of that religion which he published, and which he transmitted in the scriptures of the New Testament. But they could not be ignorant, that the religion contained in this book was diametrically and plainly opposite to what they were anxious to disseminate ; and that if the scriptures were circulated amongst Christians, the reign of Antichrist could never be established.

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Yet how could they prevent the circulation of what the Author of Christianity gave to be the guide of his followers, or how could they shut that sacred fountain out of which flowed the waters of life? It is more than probable that they would have shrunk from the attempt, had not Europe been deprived, by the invasion of the barbarians, of the knowledge by which it had been distinguished; and had not ignorance been so widely diffused, that the capacity of reading the New Testament was confined to a very few, whose sentiments they did not despair to influence or direct.* Acquaintance with scripture thus daily decreasing, the impious opinions were at length announced and propagated, that the Bible was not intended for the perusal of the great body of the faithful; that it was in many places involved in such obscurity, that it could be interpreted only by the assistance of traditions committed to the vicar of Christ; and that no doctrine deduced from it could be safely embraced till it had been sanctioned by the pope, to whom, for this purpose, the gift of infallibility had been imparted. This renunciation of Christianity, for such in effect it certainly was, came to be embraced as the dictate of Christianity; and the popes thus were regarded as the oracles of God, and their decisions and their tenets as the inspired dictates of heavenly wisdom. Having accomplished this fundamental point, they displayed the most exquisite art in the formation of their motley superstition; accommodating it to the weakness of

* Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 676.

human nature, and taking advantage of feelings inter-^{Introductory Book.}
woven with our constitution, which, when properly directed, exalt the character, and open the richest sources of the purest and most exalted happiness.

The great principle characterizing the system, which, for ages, was considered to be the religion of Christ, was the possibility of compensating for immorality without renouncing the vices to which mankind were attached. The pure law of God, as delivered in the gospel, can make no compromise with corruption; but the pope and his clergy, taught that there was a way of obtaining the divine favour, even more effectual than holiness, or the elevated faith which produces it. They required indeed repentance, but that repentance included in it little sorrow for iniquity; it was evidenced by a more scrupulous deference to the church and its ministers, by the rigid observance of the penances and mortifications which held so high a place in the estimation of those who submitted to them, by pilgrimages to the tombs of saints, who might be induced to intercede for the penitents who enriched their shrines, and paid homage to their virtues,—and above all, by liberal contributions to churches and monasteries. Salvation was thus put within the reach of all who were eager to secure it; and the mind, depressed with apprehension, or sinking under the agony of remorse, fondly embraced a doctrine which administered effectual relief, by enabling it in peace

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to anticipate the future world, in which the sinner had before dreaded condemnation.

But notwithstanding all this, some suspicion might have been occasionally excited, that open profaneness and vice could not, even by the magical effect of penance and contribution, be completely obliterated, and that without some degree of virtue, mankind could not hope for acceptance with God. The popes had not lost sight of this; and with a view to it, they inculcated, that as numbers fell short of their duty, some happily more than discharged it; that the excess of their holiness was thrown into one great stock, which the popes could distribute, and that they had thus the amazing power of clothing with righteousness the most worthless, who would acknowledge with suitable gratitude so inestimable a transformation.

As the popish religion thus tended to approve itself to an ignorant age, by the facility with which it opened to those who believed in it the gates of paradise, this effect was much increased, by the mystical sanctity, and the interesting powers with which it clothed its ministers. He who received holy orders received a character which, communicated by divine energy, no time, no wickedness, and no impiety could obliterate; he was distinguished from the rest of mankind by what could not be defined, because it could not be conceived; and consequently was contemplated with that superstitious wonder and awe, which, in minds not enlightened by philosophy, or

not directed by pure religion, whatever surpasses ^{Introductory Book.} comprehension so readily excites. And the consequences which resulted from the possession of the character were most momentous and astonishing. He upon whom it had been stamped, could pronounce absolution, and administer extreme unction, the passport to a blessed eternity; he could, by a word, perform the most stupendous miracle—a miracle mocking equally the senses and the reason: he could convert the bread and wine, the signs and memorials of the death of Christ, into his actual body and blood; and even, after this conversion had taken place, prevent the effect which might have been expected to be produced by it; for with whatever faith, and repentance, and gratitude this sacrament was taken, or with whatever apparent devotion it was administered, if the priest secretly resolved that it should be ineffectual, no benefit could be derived from having communicated.

While the people thus surveyed, with pious amazement, the omnipotence of their ministers, they were reminded that these men were more intimately connected with their Master; for while the laity could partake only of the bread which had been consecrated, the clergy were entitled to receive also the wine, and to pronounce the most dreadful sentence upon those of the people who did not submit to this mode of administration.

In consequence of their sacred character, the priesthood could require from those whom they

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superintended, an explicit confession of all the thoughts which they had cherished, and of all the actions which they had performed; and could refuse or bestow the pardon which was solicited, according as they estimated the sincerity of the penitent who unrolled to them the register of life.

But the most awful privilege, connected with the indelible character, was that of excommunicating the refractory or disobedient sons of the church; a sentence which anticipated in this world the misery to which it consigned in the next,—which tore asunder the ties of natural affection,—deprived the unfortunate victims, upon whom it had been pronounced, of the comforts which they had possessed, and of the consolation which humanity might have administered, and cut them off from the respect, the enjoyments, and the friendly intercourse of their fellow-creatures,—thus rendering life intolerable, and turning against them every human being as an enemy and a persecutor. All this, at a time when the principles upon which excommunication rested were implicitly believed, could not fail to produce a most powerful effect, and even the enormities of the priesthood could not counteract it; for the divine gift still was theirs, and they could not be restrained from exercising it, if they were desirous to do so.*

* Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, *passim*. Mosheim. Du Pin. Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy. Campbell's Lectures.

It belongs to the divine, not to the historian, to enter fully into the peculiar doctrines which the church of Rome had adopted and sanctioned. I have given the slight sketch of them here submitted to the reader, because, without it, he could not have thoroughly understood the nature of popery as a great system of despotism; and because I am thus enabled to estimate, with more precision, the influence which it exerted upon civil government, upon the administration of justice, upon morality, upon intellectual improvement, and upon the happiness of life.

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The purposes for which government was instituted, and the accomplishment of which alone renders it a blessing to mankind, plainly point out the necessity of one mind in the community, and of vesting the power requisite for answering the public good, in the hands of those whose interest is the same with that of the subjects over whom they rule. Any deviation from this unavoidably occasions a conflict of authorities, which, by dividing the loyalty and the attachment of those who should be united, defeats every attempt to secure the steady operation of law, and the civilization and the happiness which result from it. If these principles be so obvious, that they may be assumed as some of the axioms upon which the science of government rests, it is apparent that the dominion, exercised by the Roman pontiffs, had an immediate tendency to shackle every beneficial exertion of the native rulers, and to

Examination of the influence of this system upon civil government.

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introduce confusion, anarchy, and rebellion. The popes claimed a right of constant interference. They had under their controul a most formidable and wealthy body of men, while the mass of the community was so firmly attached to them, that they could at all times give a direction to the general sentiments and conduct of the people.

Even then, although they had been actuated by the sincere desire of disseminating happiness through Europe, it is plain that they could not have succeeded. Their distance from most of the nations which venerated their pretensions; their ignorance of the customs, the manners, the opinions, and the prejudices of these nations; and their own habits, formed in the seclusion of a monastery, or in a situation little more favourable for studying human nature, rendered them totally unqualified for adopting any general schemes to improve the condition of their spiritual subjects. They might, indeed, have been guided by theoretical views of expediency, but these could never have been put in the balance with the practical knowledge, which the sovereigns of the different countries of Europe could not fail, in some degree, to acquire.

But the pernicious influence of the papal government will become more apparent, when it is recollected, that the popes, for ages before the reformation, had become temporal princes; took an anxious part in the political transactions of their times, and rendered their spiritual power totally

subservient to the advancement of their worldly exaltation. Hence they regulated their measures, not by what appeared most advantageous for the people who were to be affected by them, or by respect or regard for the personal characters, and the enlightened administration of different sovereigns, but by what seemed best adapted to increase their own territories, and to render more absolute their sway over neighbouring princes. They, without hesitation, thwarted the schemes of every monarch whom it seemed their interest to humble; they threatened him with the weapons of the church,—raised against him his own subjects, not unfrequently his ministers,—united other powers in a confederacy to attack him; and when all these unprincipled artifices failed, they laid his kingdom under the horrors of an interdict, and made it a crime against religion, for the most loyal to fight his battles, or to defend his invaded rights. We have incidentally noted the misery which they often thus occasioned to Scotland; and every reader of the English history, must have felt his indignation roused at the manner in which they attempted to fetter and degrade even the most vigorous sovereigns, and to lead the people to murmur against the mildest and most fortunate administration. The continent of Europe felt the evil in all its magnitude. Many of the most powerful princes repeatedly bowed down in ignominious submission before the successor of St Peter, and, what perhaps was

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still more intolerable, were compelled to listen with apparent respect to the legates despatched from Rome, although these men entered their dominions to kindle the flame of rebellion, and to promise the crown of glory to all who traitorously combined to overturn the government, and to expel or to destroy the monarchs whom they had sworn to obey.*

Before the reformation, then, there was a cause of civil discord perpetually acting, adequate to defeat the most beneficent schemes of internal policy, by preserving that savage state which results from feuds embittered by the pretence of religion, and sanctioned by conscience, which had only to be enlightened to discern their atrocity.

Upon the administration of justice.

But the system which has been delineated, injured mankind perhaps still more extensively, by preventing that equitable administration of justice, without which no government can produce security and happiness. Law should know no distinction. The civil code should apply to all orders of the community; while the criminal code should determine the fate of every man who violates what it requires to be observed. But neither of these principles was universally established previous to the reformation. The clergy held their patrimony independently of the state; no crime of theirs warranted its forfeiture; no pressure of difficulty could subject it to the burdens which the rest of the people were compelled to sustain; and there was

* Barrow's Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy, p. 676.

thus in every European nation a privileged class, ^{Introductory Book.} whose exemptions rendering the unavoidable requisitions of the sovereigns more severe upon the rest of the community, created that discontent which is so apt to burst forth in tumult and rebellion. Nor was this all. The clergy had their own courts, in which they decided the most interesting causes, not upon general principles of equity, or agreeably to the common law or the statutes of the realm, but in conformity to the canon law, which, issuing from the court of Rome, assumed any form that could render it subservient to the exaltation of the church, and which often was in express opposition to what the governments of the countries in which it was enforced had enacted. In these courts partiality was almost avowed. The most iniquitous invasions of right by churchmen were screened or approved; while every attempt of the laity to assert their privileges, was viewed with jealousy, or, without the slightest regard to justice, was thwarted and overpowered.

In what respected criminal law, the evil was, if possible, still more dreadful. A clergyman was not amenable to what was styled the profane jurisdiction of a temporal magistrate. Even in cases of the most atrocious wickedness, he could plead his clergy, and set at defiance the efforts to degrade him. This opened a wide field for depravity; for to such a length was it carried, that if holy orders could even after the commission of crimes be obtained,

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and this was very frequently the case, the offender, protected by the church, remained without the slightest apprehension of punishment.*

But the clergy, not satisfied with exempting themselves, opened asylums for the protection of those criminals who took refuge within their walls. This practice derived its origin from the reverence with which the sepulchres of saints and martyrs were regarded. These sepulchres, in honour of the holy men whose ashes were contained in them, were considered as sacred, and it was held as impious to offer violence to any who had fled to them. The places which should have cherished the admiration of the most exalted piety, were thus rendered the sanctuaries of profligacy and vice. Assured of protection, the hardened ruffian laid aside the terror of punishment, which might have restrained him; issued forth to plunder or to ruin the helpless; loaded with spoil, and often leaving behind him the most excruciating misery, he reposed under the veil of the saint, and there planned the perpetration of new enormities. The relaxation of all order, which resulted from this, led sovereigns to make the most vigorous exertions to abolish it, or to limit its extent. But the popes, although they introduced some modifications, preserved the abuse; and until purer principles of religion were introduced, the authority of the church of Christ

* Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. I.

spread a shield over men who should have expiated by their lives their crimes against society.* Introductory Book.

A system thus impeding the execution of justice, Upon morality. must on this account alone have exerted an influence, in the highest degree pernicious, upon the morals of those by whom it was embraced. But it not only let loose the abandoned and depraved, it directly struck at the foundation of virtuous conduct, and at those general principles of duty, a regard to which is essential to the happiness which the social union was designed to promote.

In the purer ages of the church, they who, in contradiction to their profession, dishonoured religion by the impropriety of their conduct, were compelled to submit to penance, which, from the ignominy attached to it, from its severity, and the period of its duration, was calculated to deter from

* Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland. Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XIII. Acta Regia, Vol. III. p. 60, 68. Innocent VIII. issued a bull, dated July 1493, limiting the privileges of sanctuaries. He gave leave that thieves, murderers, highwaymen, and those who destroy the country in the night, if they go out of their sanctuaries to commit any mischief, and return again, might be taken out; that as to others, their retreat into sanctuaries should not be prejudicial to their creditors, if they enter therein on purpose to defraud them; and that if persons suspected of high treason be found in the sanctuaries, the king might, after their being convicted of it, send guards to hinder them from going out. Julius II. issued another bull upon this subject, more severe against those guilty, or suspected, of high treason. These bulls render it evident how shocking had been the abuses, and shew how extensively, even after the limitations, the efficacy of criminal law was counteracted.

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actions, which the pure law of the gospel, and the injunctions of its Author, explicitly condemned. Soon after the introduction of this salutary discipline, it was found necessary to admit, in some cases, of a relaxation. Where the strength requisite for enduring it was destroyed by disease, or where penitence was so evidently sincere, as to remove all doubt about the propriety of admitting those who felt it into the bosom of the church, the bishops, in the mild spirit of their master, were accustomed to grant indulgences. But when they did so, they adopted every precaution for ensuring, in future life, the exemplary conduct of those who had experienced the lenity of their pastors.

In process of time, the popes claimed the right of granting these indulgences; and as the indolence of men made them anxiously wish to obtain them, a price was fixed, upon the payment of which they were invariably given, without any regard to the moral state of those who procured them.* For a considerable period preceding the reformation, the original nature of indulgences had been changed, or their efficacy extended. They no longer conferred merely a remission of penance,

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Vol. I. B. i. Beausobre's History of the Reformation, English translation. Mosheim's Church History. Campbell's Lectures. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 330.

but an exemption from it altogether. The super-^{Introductory Book.} abundant merit of the Virgin, the saints, and the monks, was applied to the most profligate of mankind, in consequence of which they were preserved from the torments of purgatory ; and so little regard was paid even to appearances, that many who had no inclination, were compelled to purchase indulgences.* How shocking was this abuse of what was at first designed to reclaim such as had erred, may be best judged from the form of absolution which was used, a form respecting the reality of which doubts might have been entertained, had not its authenticity been incontestably proved. “ May our Lord Jesus Christ be pleased to have pity on you, and absolve you by the merits of his most holy passion. And for myself, under his authority, and under that of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of our most holy lord the pope, which he hath committed to me, I absolve you, first, from all ecclesiastical censures, in whatever manner you may have incurred them ; next, from all sins, crimes, and excesses, which you may have committed to this present time, how enormous soever they may be, even if they shall have been reserved for the cognizance of the apostolic see, and that as far as the power of the keys extends ;

* Beausobre’s History of the Reformation, p. 13. This work, as might be expected, from the high literary eminence of its author, and from the favourable situation in which he was placed, contains much most valuable information.

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which power has been given to our holy mother the church. I release you, by this plenary indulgence, from all the pains which you would be obliged to suffer in purgatory for all your past sins. I re-establish you in the use of the sacraments, in the communion of the church, in the state of innocence in which you were, at the moment you received your baptism, insomuch, that if you were now to depart, the doors of punishment would be shut against you, and those of happiness laid open to you; and that if you do not die so soon, the virtue hereof will be preserved to you, at the moment of death: in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, amen.”*

It is to be lamented that the purest religion often fails to improve, as might be hoped, the moral character of man. There are so many causes to counteract its efficacy, that it may sometimes seem to have been given almost in vain. But the case is very different with any religion which opens the gates of depravity. The too natural inclination of man to evil delights to find a support, and avails itself of any plea which may silence the suggestions of reason, and the dictates of conscience. Accordingly, the pernicious consequences which resulted from indulgences, were so lamentably apparent,

* Seckendorf's History of Lutheranism, p. 14. Beausobre's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. p. 36—38. Keith's History of Scotland, Appendix to Book i. No. 1.

that all observed, and the good deplored them. ^{Introductory Book.} They left the church a prey to every species of disorder. Offenders, encouraged by them, neither bewailed nor forsook their vices ; remained satisfied with the ridiculous forms which superstition prescribed, and evaded these, when they felt the slightest inclination to evade them. We may then consider the system which prevailed at the reformation, as calculated to stamp even wickedness with the sanction of religion ; and may attribute, in a great measure, to it, that relaxation of manners, and that degeneracy of all classes, which will present themselves more fully to our observation, when we trace the conduct of those pious and intrepid men, who laboured to diffuse juster sentiments of religion.*

* I have, without hesitation, represented the shameful prevalence of indulgences, as exerting the most unhappy effect upon the morals of those to whom they were granted. Mr Hume has taken a different view of the subject, and has become, in so far as this is concerned, the advocate of popery ; but there is so much want of candour, and, I must add, so much misrepresentation, in his defence of it, that I cannot pass it without attempting to expose them. I transcribe the note to which I allude. " Protestant writers have imagined that because a man could purchase, for a shilling, an indulgence for the most enormous and unheard-of crimes, there must necessarily have ensued a total dissolution of morality, and consequently of civil society, from the practices of the Romish church. They do not consider, that after all these indulgences were promulgated, there still remained (besides hell-fire), the punishment by the civil magistrate, the infamy of the world, and secret remorses of conscience, which are the great motives that operate upon mankind. The philosophy

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Upon intellectual improvement, and the happiness of life.

The last view which I take of the popish religion, as it existed at the reformation, exhibits it as in the highest degree unfavourable to intellectual improvement, and to the happiness of life.

of Cicero, who allowed of an Elysium, but rejected Tartarus, was a much more universal indulgence, than that preached by Arceboldi and Tvetzel. Yet nobody will suspect Cicero of any design to promote immorality. The sale of indulgences seems, therefore, no more criminal, than any other cheat of the church of Rome, or of any other church. The reformers, by entirely abolishing purgatory, did really, instead of partial indulgences sold by the pope, give, gratis, a general indulgence, of a similar nature, for all crimes and offences, without exception and distinction. The souls once consigned to hell, were never supposed to be redeemable by any price. There is on record only one instance of a damned soul that was saved, and that by the special intercession of the virgin. An indulgence saved the person who purchased it from purgatory only."

Mr Hume could not imagine that any protestant writer, capable of reflection, conceived that there must necessarily have resulted from the liberal sale of indulgences, a total dissolution of morality and civil society, because history and actual observation ascertained the fact, that there was no such dissolution; but protestant writers considered that the sale of indulgences was highly pernicious to morality; and in this opinion they were supported, both by what really took place, and by the nature of these indulgences. Indulgences, says Mr Hume, exempted only from purgatory. They left hell-fire, a sense of infamy, the dread of the civil magistrate, the remorse of conscience, in all their force. He must have looked very superficially over the form of indulgences if he thought so. They who sold them did, indeed, profess to deliver from the torments of purgatory, but they were fully sensible that their indulgences would have been esteemed of no value, had they done this only to consign those who bought them to hell-fire, which was much more dreadful than purgatory. Indulgences, accordingly, not only took the wicked out of this intermediate state of suffering, but they assured them of admission into heaven. The distributor of them declared, "I re-establish you in the innocence in which you were at the moment of baptism, inasmuch,

Founded upon superstition, and upon implicit faith in the sentiments and doctrines of the priest-Introductory Book.

that if you were now to depart, the doors of punishment would be shut against you, and those of happiness laid open to you ; and that if you do not die so soon, the virtue hereof will be preserved and assured to you at the hour of death." All therefore, who purchased an indulgence, and they who had committed the most enormous and unheard-of crimes, could, as Mr Hume acknowledges, for the most trifling sum do so, received from those, in whose power to grant it they religiously believed, a full assurance that they were restored to innocence—that repentance was unnecessary, and that at whatever time they died, they would be made eternally happy. Did that then leave the dread of hell-fire, which insured men's escaping from it—did that leave to conscience all its energy, which asserted that every crime was obliterated, or did that expose to the infamy of the world, which cast around those who obtained it, the sacred sanction of the successor of St Peter ? The case has only to be stated as it is, to render it apparent that indulgences thwarted the operation of the most powerful motives to virtue. No ! Mr Hume says, for Cicero, who rejected Tartarus, and believed in Elysium, granted a more ample indulgence, and yet none suspects him of any design to promote immorality. Cicero was certainly in the dark respecting a future state, and he lamented that he was so, but he gave no indulgence to vice ; he enforced, with the most impressive eloquence, the cause of goodness, and though he rejected the poetical fictions of Tartarus, he did not send the good and the bad, indiscriminately, to the joys of Elysium. He who reads his moral writings, and then peruses the form of a popish indulgence, may well wonder how ingenuity itself could seek to defend the latter by the former. But the conclusion of the note shows what I suspect was the chief purpose for which it was written. Mr Hume was no friend to the reformation, at least in so far as it tended to display the excellence, and to restore the purity of Christianity. That religion, as it proceeded from its blessed Author, cannot be hurt by the weapons with which much of the superstition of popery may be successfully assailed. In the spirit of enmity to them he proceeds to observe, that the reformers, by abolishing purgatory, gave gratis a general indulgence of a similar nature for

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hood, it strove to perpetuate the darkness to which it owed its extensive establishment. It turned away the attention from every pursuit which could expand the human faculties, whilst it punished with severity all attempts to assert the right of private judgment, and to use for the discovery of truth, the reason given to ascertain it. And by thus degrading the genius and the intellectual powers of mankind, it cut off the sources of the purest and the most exalted enjoyment, dooming to that lamentable state of ignorance, which clothes nature with terrors, and raises imaginary evils to poison the happiness of life. It continued that barbarism and that contraction of sentiment, which the cultivation of the understanding alone can diminish or remove, and making the comfort and the future prospects of men to depend upon a venal and a corrupt priesthood, it depressed even the most virtuous with the threatenings of eternal misery, and wrested from all who had exposed themselves to the resentment of the sacred order, those hopes of immortal happi-

all crimes and offences. If this be a fair and correct representation of the matter, then must the reformers have declared to mankind, purgatory has no existence, therefore, however enormous may be your crime, you shall be happy hereafter. Did the great advocates of the reformation, who constantly appealed to scripture, teach a tenet like this, or would Mr Hume have seriously affirmed that they did so? The slightest view of their writings puts the contrary beyond the possibility of doubt; and the charge advanced in the note, may be useful in guarding us against the deceitful influence of prejudice, which could extort such remarks from the profound and enlightened historian of England.

ness, which are so necessary for alleviating the calamities and the sorrows by which human life is so often embittered. Introductory Book.

In tracing the general or local progress of the reformation, the evils which it struggled to remove must not be cast out of sight; and we must contemplate the system of popery, not modified by the expanded reason of mankind, but as it exerted its energy in ages of intellectual darkness. Thus shall we justly appreciate the labours of those who sapped its strength; and ascribe to the proper cause, that amazing improvement in the social and moral condition of man, which has succeeded its weakness or its destruction.

But before entering upon the history of the Reformation in Scotland, which banished from that country the slavery of Rome, it may not be uninteresting, and it may enable the reader to enter more fully into the narration, to take a short view of the general causes which contributed to excite the spirit of reformation in the sixteenth century, and to give success to efforts which, previous to that era, had been frequently though ineffectually made. The discussion shall occupy the next chapter, and conclude this introductory book.

CHAPTER SECOND.

Just sentiments of the usurpation of the Popes never totally extinguished...Albigenses...Wickliffe...John Huss and Jerome of Prague...Heretics in Scotland...Efforts of these men not formidable to the Church...Causes which led to the Reformation...Construction of the Popish system, and imprudence of those who embraced it...Papal schism...Councils of Constance and Basil...Restoration of learning...Universities founded...University of St Andrews...Discovery of the art of printing...Alarm of the Popes, and attempts by them to counteract these causes...Index expurgatorius...Profligacy and impiety of the Popes before the Reformation...Leo X...Reformation, the natural consequence of the previous state of Christendom...Circumstances which providentially promoted it at the period when it took place; Indulgences issued by Leo; Abuses which attended their distribution...Character of Tetzel...Luther; His education and character; led to oppose indulgences; Ability displayed by him, and success which attended his exertions; Motives which influenced him; Imprudence of the Papal Court, in resisting and condemning him...Establishment of the Reformed Church.

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THERE is no part of the history of mankind more calculated to excite astonishment, and to inspire

the most melancholy reflections, than the revolution, which, extinguishing science, placed ignorance in the most celebrated seats of ancient philosophy, and thus laid the foundation for that superstition and that delusion, by which the church of Rome so universally suspended the exertions of reason. But amazing as was the success of the popes, and powerful as were the means by which they obtained it, it could not be imagined, that every trace of the original faith and independence of Christians would be obliterated. We find, accordingly, that there were at all times a few who dissented from the prevailing errors, and against whom the most shocking cruelty was, under the pretended sanction of religion, occasionally exercised.

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Just sentiments of the usurpation of the Popes never completely extinguished.

The Waldenses or Albigenses, had, so early as the twelfth century, spread their tenets over a considerable extent of the southern part of the continent of Europe. It is not improbable, that many of their opinions had been preserved from a much more remote period, and had been secretly entertained, or openly avowed, from the first dissemination of Christianity.*

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 189. Reinerus, quoted by Bennet in his Memorial. Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. I. B. i. p. 12. Jortin's Life of Erasmus. This last writer mentions that a Confession of Faith was presented by the remains of the Waldenses or Albigenses, to Francis I. in 1544. In the preamble of that confession, they declare that the doctrines contained in it had been professed by their ancestors since 1200 after Christ. One article is, Credimus unam sanctam ecclesiam,

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In a less distant age, the efforts of the understanding began to be more steadily directed against the doctrines of the Roman church; and although none, perhaps, saw them in the precise light in which they were afterwards contemplated by protestants, there were men, who, previous to the reformation, discerned their inconsistency with the word of God, and inculcated the necessity of examining or of rejecting them. Amongst this number, a most conspicuous place must be assigned to Wickliffe. His enlightened and vigorous mind pierced through the veil which had been impenetrable to the generality of mankind, and he pointed out what every friend to Christianity should not hesitate to condemn.

This illustrious man, who laid the foundations of the reformation, and whose memory should be venerated by all who value the most important rights of their fellow-creatures, was born towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, near Richmond, in the county of York. He early devoted himself to literature; and in the university of Oxford, at which he studied, he was distinguished for his intense application, for the vivacity of his genius, and for the progress which he made in the pursuits to which he directed his attention. He applied with peculiar zeal and diligence to the perusal of scripturæ omnium electorum Dei, a constitutione ad finem mundi, congregationem, cujus caput est Dominus noster Jesus Christus. They allowed marriage to all, and regarded the Old and New Testaments as the rule of their faith. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 323.

ture and the writings of the Fathers; and from these sources, he derived, probably in the earlier part of his life, those sentiments, which, at a more advanced age, he so resolutely published.* Introductory Book.

His reputation, as a man of learning, recommended him to the notice of the archbishop of Canterbury, and he was made rector of a college which that munificent prelate had lately endowed. In this dignified situation, he acquired the esteem and approbation of all whose support could afford him gratification; but he was soon removed from it, through the jealousy and intrigues of the monks, who were anxious that every seminary of education should be occupied by their own order, or by those who would instil into youth the principles which had contributed to their exaltation. This misfortune, evidently occasioned by what no degree of purity or of science could avert, did not lessen the estimation in which he had been held, but it naturally led him to revise the opinions which he had formed; and he certainly, after his deprivation, taught them at least more openly than he had done in the university.†

It is difficult exactly to ascertain what were all the tenets which he promulgated. Many of the

* Lewis's *Life of Wickliffe*. Neale's *History of the Puritans*, Vol. I. Rolt's *Life of Wickliffe*, in *Lives of the Reformers*.

† Rapin's *History of England*, Vol. I. Neale's *History of the Puritans*, Vol. I. Rolt's *Lives of the Reformers*. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 166—168.

Introductory Book.

accounts of them have been transmitted by those who viewed him with abhorrence, and who, to expose him to hatred, or to draw on him the weight of ecclesiastical condemnation, probably did not scruple to aggravate or to misrepresent what he taught ; but judging from his own writings, and from other authentic documents, he seems to have been convinced, “ that in St Paul’s time two orders of clergymen were thought enough for the church, priests and deacons ; that civil government should not be committed to the clergy ; that a Christian should hearken to reason and scripture ; that little reliance could be placed on general councils ; that the church of Rome is no more the head of the universal church than any other church ; that no greater honour was given to St Peter than to the rest of the apostles ; that the eucharist, after consecration, is not the real body of Christ, but only its emblem or figure ; that the pope of Rome has no more jurisdiction in the exercise of the keys than any other priest ; that in case of improper conduct in the church, it is not only lawful, but meritorious, to dispossess her of her temporalities ; that the gospel is sufficient to direct a Christian in the conduct of life ; that all other rules, instituted by holy men, and practised in the monasteries, add no more perfection to Christianity than whiteness to a wall, and that neither the pope, nor any other prelate, ought to have prisons for punishing offenders against the discipline of the church, but that every

person ought to be left at liberty in the conduct of his life.”* Introductory Book.

These propositions unquestionably strike at the very root of papal despotism. They indicate a mind possessed of the utmost vigour and of the soundest judgement. It is evident, however, that Wickliffe himself did not perceive all the consequences which, in the present day, appear so obviously to result from them, for he never withdrew himself from the communion of the church. He regularly discharged the duties of the benefice of Lutterworth, to which he retired after he left the university, and he was attacked by the disease which terminated his life, while he was hearing mass in his 1384. own church.†

His opinions were soon widely circulated, and cordially embraced. His pure and irreproachable manners recommended him to many; while several of the most powerful men in the kingdom, delighted with the prospect of wresting from the church part of the wealth which she so much abused, openly patronized him, and so effectually screened him from the resentment of the pope and the clergy, that, notwithstanding repeated attempts to harass and persecute him, he closed his eyes in

* Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters, pp. 4 and 5. Rapin's History, Vol. I. Neale's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. Rolt's Lives of the Reformers.

† Neale, Rolt, Rapin, as before quoted. Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries.

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peace. It was reserved for a celebrated council to express at a future period its rancorous and unavailing antipathy, by taking his bones from the tomb, in which, for forty years, they had been deposited, and committing them to the flames.

1425.

But even this strange exertion of the high power, with which, in consequence of the supposed effusion of the Holy Spirit, the Fathers at Constance considered themselves to be invested, did not produce the effect which they intended. It confirmed the unfavourable impressions, with regard to the church, which had been made upon the followers of Wickliffe; endeared to them the liberal and humane principles which they had received from their leader, and contributed to the preservation of these principles. From this era they never were extirpated in England; they were, notwithstanding the cruel laws for burning heretics, which were directed against those who held them, transmitted in particular families; and they prepared those who inherited them for that great change which, in happier times, connected with the profession of them the safety and the honour which had been so long confined within the pale of Romish communion.*

But the fruits of Wickliffe's inquiries were not confined to England. Among the numerous students at Oxford who knew and who revered him,

* Rapin. Rolt. Neale. Pierce's Vindication of the Dissenters. Campbell's Lectures, Vol. II. p. 340. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. I. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 376.

there were some who carried his tenets to Germany, and there disseminated them with a zeal which the ^{Introductory Book.} avenging hand of the church in vain attempted to extinguish. In Bohemia, they particularly attracted the attention of John Huss, who had long declaimed against the vices of the clergy; and although he did not approve them all, and even continued attached to the doctrine of transubstantiation—no slight proof of his deference to the spiritual authority of the pope—he espoused some of those which were most hostile to the priesthood. He insisted that the communion should be given in both kinds to the laity; and irritated by some harsh and unwarrantable measures, which the archbishop of Prague had taken against him, and which had been approved by the pope, he attacked with increased vehemence the corruptions of the Roman church; denied that the pope was its head; and, with an eagerness which the amiableness of the opinion peculiarly justified, reprobated the practice of surrendering heretics to the secular arm. During his contest with the archbishop, the council of Constance assembled; and as the pope and the emperor wished him to present to it an account of his opinions, he repaired to Constance, protected by a safe conduct, which Sigismund readily granted. His tenets, as might have been foreseen, were condemned; he was branded with the odious appellation of Heresiarch; and, through a violation of honour, entailing infamy upon those who were guilty of it, and awfully illus-

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trating the connexion between superstition and inhumanity, he was sentenced to be burned. The cruelty of the sentence does not seem to have shocked the feelings of the Fathers, for, in the suburbs of Constance, and under the immediate eye of the council, he suffered this horrible death.*

Jerome of Prague, who had imbibed in England the sentiments of Wickliffe—who had, upon his return to Bohemia, united with Huss—and who, in testimony of his friendship, had attended him to Constance, was also apprehended. Although intimidated by the prospect of that fate to which Huss heroically submitted, he abjured what he had formerly professed, the unrelenting bigotry of the bishops doomed him to the stake; and he expiated the weakness by which he had been seduced from what he regarded as the truth, by resigning himself to his melancholy end with unshrinking fortitude.†

1416.

The martyrdom of these innocent men produced a deep impression upon the public mind. Immense numbers openly avowed the doctrines for which Huss and his friend had been condemned, and irritated by the shameful dereliction of all moral and religious principle, which their murderers had evinced, not a few took arms, and committed ex-

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the 15th Century. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 227—232. Rolt's Lives of the Reformers. *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ*, p. 26 and 29. Brandt, Vol. I. p. 19.

† Du Pin. Mosheim. Rolt. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 337 and 380.

cesses, which, however criminal, plainly shewed their reverence for their instructors.* The unwearied efforts of the church of Rome could not exterminate or convert them. They appeared at the council of Basil, and stated the conditions upon which alone they would be reconciled to the popes. These conditions were, from political motives, approved ; but the bishop of Rome afterwards disavowed them, that he might excite or foment new troubles, and involve in continued misery those who would not yield to him complete submission.† Under various forms the followers of Huss and Jerome remained in Bohemia, and they were not rooted out in the sixteenth century, when they naturally and cordially embraced the reformation.‡

In Scotland there were some who, about the same period, sought to introduce a purer religion. Two men, soon after the appearance of Wickliffe, suffered for supporting his tenets. That these tenets had not been limited to them is apparent ; for towards the end of the fifteenth century, numbers in the west of Scotland declared their dissatisfaction with the established faith, remonstrated against the worship of images, denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, and even affirmed that the pope was not the successor of St Peter, but was the head of the church of antichrist.§

* *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ.*

† Rapin, Vol. I.

‡ Du Pin, Vol. III. p. 295.

§ Fordun's *Scotchchronicon*, Vol. II. p. 442. Knox's *History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland*, B. i. p. 1, 2. The edition

Introductory Book.

Heretics in Scotland.

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Efforts of those men not formidable to the church.

But although some rays of light thus penetrated through the darkness which hung over Europe, the effect was very inconsiderable. The weak unconnected exertions of men, who had not access to all the sources of information which would have enlarged and matured their views, and who did not possess the means of extensively propagating their opinions, could not have overturned the ancient fabric of spiritual despotism. They were sometimes persecuted indeed, and their errors were condemned, but little real apprehension for the church was excited. So much were they despised in Scotland, that the archbishop of Glasgow dismissed without punishment the heretics who had been summoned before him, although the prevalence of their religious impressions would have been fatal to the popish faith.*

Causes which led to the reformation.

We must look for the causes of the reformation in the system of popery itself, combined with the incautious conduct of those who were attached to it; in the restoration of learning, and the invention of printing, which diffused that learning; and in the

of this work to which I uniformly refer, is that of Edinburgh, 1732. Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, Book ii. p. 60; 61, Leslie de Rebus gestis Scotorum, Lib. vii. The edition of this book which I have always consulted is that of 1675. Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland, lately published at Edinburgh from the MSS. p. 34. Kirkton lived in the 17th century, and was a distinguished Covenanter. David Buchanan's Preface to Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland.

* Knox, Book i. p. 2. Spottiswoode, Book ii, p. 61.

irregularity, inconsistency, and indecency which marked the characters of the pontiffs, who, for a considerable period before the appearance of Luther, occupied the apostolical chair. Introductory Book.

The world was prepared for the reformation by the nature of the popish religion, and the incautious conduct of those who were attached to it. Admirably as it was adapted to accomplish the end which the policy of Rome was desirous to secure, it contained within itself the elements of dissolution, and could scarcely fail, at some era of the intellectual progress of man, to be modified or destroyed. The fundamental principle upon which it rested was the infallibility of the pope, by whom it was guided and administered. This infallibility he claimed as the successor of St Peter; and he was through it, as he asserted, not only guarded from error, but enabled with absolute certainty to declare what was to be believed, or what was to be respected as the rule of conduct. Unfortunately, however, the feelings of the moment often extinguished the regard which should have been uniformly paid to what was so essential for preserving the veneration of mankind. The reigning pope not unfrequently pronounced decisions which his successors branded as erroneous, and against which they even directed that vehemence of condemnation, which they delighted to employ. Of this inconsistency some examples were mentioned in the preceding chapter, and, without any particular reference, every person who

Construction of the popish system, and imprudence of those who embraced it.

Introductory Book.

has paid attention to the history of the church must have been struck with it. The effect of this, if not immediate, must at some time have been certain. It required little mental culture to discern that infallibility never can be wrong, and to perceive that he who, professing to exercise it, falls into error, advances a claim which must be fallacious.

But this was not the only, or even the most striking mode in which Rome herself opened the eyes of her votaries. The infallibility with which she encircled her bishop belonged exclusively to him, and as the trust was most important, it was natural to conclude that there could be no mistake in determining upon whom it was bestowed. Unluckily for the church of Rome, though fortunately for the religious liberty and moral improvement of the human race, the spirit of faction sometimes disturbed that unanimity of election which should never have been broken. The most indecent conflicts were exhibited in the conclave, and there issued from it rival pontiffs, who by mutual invectives, and the liberal use of the thunders of the church against each other, contributed to dissipate the charm which had locked up the faculties, or blinded the judgment of European nations.

1305. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Clement V., on account of some difference with the emperor, was eager to obtain the protection of Philip the Fair, king of France ; and that it might be

more effectually extended to him, he took up his residence in that country. For about seventy years ^{Introductory Book.} **Avignon** continued to be the seat of the papal court. During this period, the inhabitants of Rome unceasingly lamented the diminution of wealth and splendour which the removal of their bishops had occasioned. At length they embraced an opportunity of remedying what they felt to be so great an evil. Upon the death of Gregory XI., which happened 1378. at Rome, the people suspecting that the cardinals, influenced by France, would elect a pope who would establish himself at Avignon, -surrounded the conclave, threatening to break into it, and to massacre all who opposed their inclinations. To appease the tumult, the cardinals promised to elect an Italian pope; and they fixed upon the archbishop of Bari, intending, however, afterwards to declare the invalidity of the election. From the name, the multitude apprehended that the archbishop was a Frenchman; they renewed their outrages, and having accidentally fixed their eyes upon the cardinal of St Peter, they declared him to be pope. He declined accepting of an honour which was so irregularly conferred, and the archbishop of Bari, with whom the people were at length satisfied, was next day proclaimed by some of the cardinals, assuming the title of Urban VI. The sacred college, while they were agitated by terror, acknowledged him as the head of the church; but they secretly wrote to the king of France, intimating

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tory Book.

their intention of disannulling the election. Accordingly, as soon as they could safely make their escape, the French cardinals went to Avignon, and there elected Clement VII.

Papal
schism.

1389.

Urban enjoyed his disputed dignity for eleven years. After his death, the Italian cardinals refusing allegiance to Clement, invested with the papal supremacy Boniface IX. The university of Paris at once discerned the fatal effects which would result from a schism so disgraceful, and so inconsistent with the fundamental principles of their religious system. In their anxiety to heal it, they proposed that both the pontiffs should lay aside their pretensions, and that the cardinals should oblige themselves to concur in filling the vacancy. The dread of being degraded from his elevated rank haunted the imagination of Clement, and even shortened his days; but the French cardinals, who had it now in their power to restore harmony to the church, regardless of its best interests, or little anxious to promote them, when inconsistent with their avarice or their ambition, continued the division which offended the Christian world, and elected Benedict XIII.

1394.

Both popes now professed the utmost desire to compose the minds of the faithful, by terminating the division which disquieted them; but they shewed so much reluctance to every plan which was devised for this purpose, and made so many scandalous evasions, as to render it evident that the sweets of the popedom were, in their esti-

mation, of more value than the tranquillity of the church.

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There seemed now to be the prospect of eternal discord, and of the perpetuity of the unhappy consequences which had arisen. The nations of Europe were divided. Some bent in reverence to one pope, and some to another; while the most pious heard denounced against them the awful anathemas which had before been reserved for the impious, and for those who perverted or despised the creed of Rome. The cardinals of both parties at length saw the dangerous ground upon which they stood, and the ruinous tendency of the divisions which they had introduced, and they united in calling a council at Pisa. This council, without hesitation, deposed the two popes, and authorized the cardinals to proceed to a new election. Peace, however, was not thus obtained. The deposed popes still considered themselves as the successors of St Peter, and the scandal of Christendom was increased by the addition of a new pontiff to their number. Alexander V. who had, in consequence of the decree of the council of Pisa, been exalted to the popedom, died in a few months, and his successor summoned a general council, which met at Constance. This council removed all the popes. Some of them attempted to cling to the dignity which they had not principle or fortitude to renounce, but they were at length compelled to yield, and,

Council of Constance.

Introductory Book.

about fourteen years after the council, the schism was healed.*

1429. I have this minutely detailed the origin and the progress of this division in the Catholic church, because in it may be observed one powerful cause of alienation from that church. From the nature of the contest, from the violent passions which, during its continuance, were called into action, from the indecent and sanguinary struggles of the opposite parties, and from the open preference which all the popes gave to worldly considerations, some suspicion of the impostures to which they had been so much indebted could scarcely fail to be excited. We find, accordingly, the most pathetic complaints, even by popish writers, of the injury occasioned by the schism; and it is certain that the devotion to Rome was never again so fervent, or so universally felt.†

The power which the councils assumed to direct, and even to depose the popes, also struck a severe blow at the despotism with which they had ruled. The superiority of a general council to the pontiff was implied in all these proceedings; and the fathers of Constance did not hesitate, by two decrees, to

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the 14th and 15th centuries. Mosheim, Vol. III. pp. 162, 163, and 223. Rapin's Hist. of England, Vol. I.

† Du Pin, as above, Mosheim, do. Spottiswoode, p. 56. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. III. Buchanan's Preface to Knox.

determine that the Roman pontiff was subject to a Introductory Book.
 general assembly of the universal church.*

Still, however, the advocates of the papal supremacy might have urged much to invalidate the doctrine. They might have represented the interference of the council of Constance, as one of those extraordinary remedies which necessity justified, but which afforded no precedent in times of order and tranquillity. But the force of this reasoning was destroyed in the estimation of a great part of Christendom, by the canons and transactions of the celebrated council of Basil, or Basle, Council of Basil. which assembled about fifteen years after the dissolution of that of Constance. At the period of 1431. its meeting, there was no contest respecting the chair of St Peter. It was filled by a pope canonically elected, and to whom submission was universally paid. Yet this council solemnly renewed the decree of Constance. It declared the council to be above the pope, and that appeals lay to it from his sentences. These principles filled Eugenius, who had consented to the meeting of the council, with the utmost indignation; and finding that he could not alter the views of the fathers while they remained at Basil, he, under some pretext, removed the council to Ferrara. But the bishops were resolved to act upon the maxims which they had sanctioned. They denied his

* Mosheim's Church History, cent, 15th, Part ii. chapter 2. in Vol. III. p. 225, 226.

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- power to take this step ; summoned him before them ; and upon his refusing to appear, they deposed him as contumacious, as disobedient to the laws of the universal church, as a violator of the holy canons, and a disturber of ecclesiastical peace and unity ; and they elected another pope. Many of the sovereigns of Europe wisely supported the council in its attempts to reform the pontiffs ; and although the king of France would not countenance the prelate whom it had exalted, that monarch approved of its decrees, and reduced them into the form of an edict, which he appointed to be invariably observed in his dominions. After much indecent altercation the schism was healed. The pope chosen by the council resigned, and the church once more looked to an undisputed head of the Christian community.*

1449.

From this period, however, a general council was regarded by princes, and by a great part of the most enlightened of the laity, as the proper remedy for papal abuse, and as the bulwark of the liberties of Christendom. The popes were filled with apprehension ; and the dread of suffering what Eugenius had been compelled to bear, made them less haughty in the exercise of their ample prerogatives.

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical Hist. of the 15th Century. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 238-242. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation in England, Vol. III. Rapin's Hist. of England. Skinner's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Scotland,

The importance of reformation was thus also ^{Introductory Book.} most deeply impressed upon the public. For many years before the commencement of the sixteenth century, it was the language even of those whose zeal for the church was most ardent, that there was a necessity for limiting, by proper regulations, the privileges of the pope. This opinion exerted its influence within the conclave, where no attention would have been paid to it, had it been conceived to be prudent or safe to treat it with neglect.*

After the death of Alexander VI., or rather of his successor, who enjoyed the pontificate only for a few days, the cardinals, before they proceeded to choose a pope, formed certain articles of reformation; and each of them swore, that if the election should fall upon him, he would carry them into execution. Julius II. was elected. Immediately after his election, he repeated the oath which, when a cardinal, he had taken—"he most solemnly vowed, promised, and swore, that he would observe and fulfil all the articles of reformation purely, and with good faith, subject to the consequences of perjury

* Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 301. Beausobre's History of the Reformation. Seckendorf, Lib. I. Bellarmine, quoted by Dr Robertson, in his History of Charles V. Vol. II. octavo edition, p. 160, 161, note.

Bellarmino says, for some years before the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies were published, there was not, as contemporary authors testify, any severity in ecclesiastical judicatories, any discipline with regard to morals, any knowledge of sacred literature, any reverence for divine things; there was not almost any religion remaining. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 386.

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and anathema, and that he would neither absolve himself, nor authorize any other person to absolve him.”*

Yet, notwithstanding all this, nothing was farther from the intentions of the crafty pontiff, than to commence the reformation, which, in a manner so strikingly calculated to bind an honourable and a religious mind, he had sworn to execute. Although he had pledged himself to summon a council within two years after his exaltation to the pontifical chair, he allowed seven years to elapse without taking any steps to convene it. The cardinals, whose patience was, by this shameful delay, exhausted, or who, although probably as corrupt as himself, wished to shew to the world that they were sincere in their desire for reformation, convoked, by their own authority, a council at Pisa, having previously secured the protection of the king of France and the emperor of Germany, both of whom were anxious that the projected changes should be introduced.† But the labours of this council were totally ineffectual. The artful and insidious policy of Julius had not only reconciled to the papal see the powerful monarchs who had been disposed to support the council, but had even

* Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 5, note. The oath is there quoted from Edm. Rich. ap. Seckendorf.

† Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 5, and Guicciardini, there quoted. Du Pin's Hist. of 16th century, B. i. ch. 6.

procured their consent to submit to a council called by himself, and composed of Italian bishops, devoted to his interest.* Introductory Book.

The opening of this council, which met in the palace of the Lateran, was accompanied by an appearance of piety, which was eminently adapted to raise the hopes of those whose eyes were anxiously fixed upon it. The reality, however, was wanting. Far from seeking to gratify, in the slightest manner, the ardent and universal desire for reformation, the council confirmed the most arrogant pretensions of the popes, and condemned the council of Basil, which had so nobly attacked these pretensions.†

But although it thus became apparent that reformation could not be expected to derive its origin from the head of the church, the necessity of this reformation was, at the election of every new pope, recognized; and so obvious indeed was this necessity, that after the appearance of Luther, Adrian, one of the best and most sincere pontiffs, candidly acknowledged it. He admitted that the abuse of discipline, and the corruption of manners which disgraced the court of Rome, were the chief sources of all the evils with which the church was afflicted. He actually attempted to apply some slight remedies; but he met with such vigorous opposition from the cardinals, and from those who de-

* Beausobre's Hist. p. 6. and note from De Thou, B. i. p. 30. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 289.

† Beausobre's Hist. p. 7. Seckendorf, p. 7.

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rived emolument from imposing upon mankind, that he was compelled to desist. To his intimate friends he lamented the unhappy condition of the popes, who, however zealous they might be to correct abuses, did not possess power to remove them.*

These facts place it beyond a doubt, that the minds of men were prepared for some revolution respecting religion; that the blind deference with which every mandate of Rome had been long received, was rapidly decreasing; and that no power could have prevented a change, unless mankind had been cast back into the darkness of ignorance, and the gloominess of superstition. Happily, however, the reverse was the case. Through the mercy of Providence, the restoration of learning, and the improvement, which at this critical period it introduced, exerted their influence, and promoted

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical Hist. of the 16th Cent. B. ii. ch. 13, and ch. 17. Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, Book i. Mosheim, 16th Cent. chapter ii. sec. 1. Jortin's Life of Erasmus. Pallavicini, who wrote a History of the Council of Trent in opposition to that of Father Paul, treats Adrian, on account of his religious zeal, and his desire to correct some abuses in manners and discipline, as a poor silly creature, not fit to be at the head of the church. Adrian experienced how little the most splendid exaltation contributes to real happiness. His life was embittered by the cares of the papal chair; and one of his friends, who was intimately acquainted with his feelings, wrote for him this epitaph: *Hic situs est qui nihil sibi infelicius in vita, quam quod imperaret, duxit.* Du Pin, *ut supra*, ch. 17. Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. I. B. ii. p. 47—49.

that great event which was so soon to astonish and enlighten the world.*

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The incursion of barbarous nations into the most cultivated and improved countries of Europe, spread over these countries the savage ignorance of the conquerors. The unceasing struggles to which the influx of new adventurers, or the ambition of those who had procured settlements, gave rise, turned into a deplorable direction the powers of the human mind, rendered the art of war almost the sole object of particular attention, and formed those habits most unfavourable to civilization and knowledge, which, in such a state, invariably acquire strength. Still, however, there remained in the monasteries a few vestiges of literature. The indolence of the monks required pleasures which sensual objects could not always yield. Without feeling any ardent love of science, they preserved some of the finest monuments of ancient genius, by multiplying copies of the manuscripts which they had saved from destruction, and by ornamenting them with splendid embellishments, which captivated the eye, and excited the admiration even of the barbarians who inspected them.

Restoration of learning.

After the first impulse of Gothic violence had spent its force, the natural spring of the human mind began to exert its energy. The necessary

* Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*, quarto edition, Vol. III. chap. xv. p. 140. For the general dissatisfaction with regard to Rome, which existed before the reformation, see *ib.* p. 148.

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arts, or those most immediately contributing to comfort, were cultivated; and by the exercise which even thus was given to the mental faculties, a foundation was laid for that intellectual culture, which, in happier times, was destined to enlarge the enjoyments, and to add to the dignity of the inhabitants of European nations. Under the delicious climate of Italy, elegant literature, in the course of the fourteenth century, began again to flourish. The munificent patronage of the illustrious family of Medicis, and the names of Petrarch, Dante, Boccace, and Barlaam, are familiar to those who have traced with interest the commencement of this new era, whilst the charms which their refined genius, and their command of feeling and of passion cast over literary pursuits, not only delighted their own age, but secured the steady ardour with which these pursuits were afterwards prosecuted.*

Universities founded.

The destruction of Constantinople by the Turks contributed, in a very great degree, to disseminate an acquaintance with the immortal writers of Greece. Universities were founded in different parts of Europe; and man awoke from the lethargy in which for ages he had slept, to contemplate the beauties of truth, to reflect upon the faculties with which his Creator had endowed him, to exercise his

* Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 144. Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 12th Vol. of an octavo edition, ch. 66th. Robertson's History of Charles V. Roscoe's Lives of Lorenzo de Medici, and of Leo. X. *passim*.

reason, and to shake off that yoke of implicit sub-^{Introductory Book.} mission, which the popes, with such unremitting perseverance, had laboured to fix on him.*

I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of observing ^{University of St Andrews.} that the light of science, about this period, beamed upon Scotland. Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, although far from having emancipated himself from all the prejudices of his age, perceived the infinite importance of literature. About the beginning of 1410. the fifteenth century he opened schools in that city, in which theology, logic, and such philosophy as then was held in estimation, were publicly taught. He determined to form these schools into a university, and he took for his model the university of Paris, the most distinguished seminary which contributed to the restoration of learning. Having applied for the sanction of the pope, without which no important step could be taken, he obtained a bull, which, 1412. to the utmost extent of his wishes, gave authority and stability to his most laudable institution. The arrival of the bull was celebrated by the most fervent expressions of joy. Even the great body of the people shared the satisfaction which the friends of learning felt, and took every method of shewing how deeply they were interested in the success of this most ancient university of Scotland.†

But it was not less indebted to the patronage

* Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 213, 215. Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 320.

† Fordun's Scotichronicon. Lib. xv. ch. 22. Sibbald's Hist. of Fife. Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, B. ii. p. 57.

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of the monarch than to the favour of the pope. James I., whose unprincipled captivity in England was softened, and in some degree compensated, by the most unremitting attention to his education, and to the general improvement of his mind, who had thus been inspired with the admiration of science, and who had devoted much of his time to the pursuit of it, saw, with the utmost delight, the efforts of the learned men of his kingdom. He often attended when the professors delivered their lectures; he conferred upon the university many valuable privileges; and he still more effectually encouraged the cultivation of literature, by rendering proficiency in it the certain method of acquiring civil and ecclesiastical promotion. He had indeed justly appreciated the salutary tendency of learning and philosophy. Deploring the lamentable condition of the church, and the disgraceful prevalence of superstition, of ignorance, and of vice, he did not apply any violent remedy, which he saw the temper of the age would not have endured; but he rested his hope of a radical amendment, in directing the attention of the clergy to literary improvement, and in cultivating their understandings, leaving it to their own judgment, gradually enlightened, to remove from the popular creed whatever was inconsistent with pure religion, and with the virtuous conduct of those whom it was their duty to instruct.*

* Buchanan, Lib. x. under reign of James I. Holinshed's Chre.

But, however certain were the general effects to be expected from the revival of science, and from the intellectual improvement of mankind, these effects would have been very slowly produced, had not the invention of printing, one of the most important discoveries which has been made by human ingenuity, rendered the diffusion of knowledge infinitely more easy than it had been at any previous period in the history of the world. This discovery at once removed the difficulty of circulating literary productions, and the possibility of destroying or concealing these productions. When copies of books could be multiplied only by the immense and tedious labour of transcribing, the expence of procuring them was so great, that the wealthy alone could form a collection. The great body of men were cut off from free access to them, and were compelled to receive the doctrines or the opinions which they contained, from the report of teachers, liable to be biassed by partiality and prejudice, or to mistake the meaning of that which they professed to develop. But by means of printing, a large edition could be furnished almost with equal facility as a small one, and at an expence so moderate, that no one who really wished to study, could find any difficulty in reaching the sources from which knowledge could be most certainly

nicle, do. Leslie, de Rebus gestis Scotorum, Lib. vii. Drummond's Lives of the five Jameses. Spottiswoode's Hist. p. 57. Consult also Anderson's Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum, p. 89.

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derived.* Like some other of our most valuable blessings, the press has been attended with consequences which benevolence and philosophy unite to deplore. If it has been the instrument of dispersing truth, it has often given currency to the most pernicious errors, and if it has placed before mankind the most powerful motives which can determine them to adopt a life of religion and virtue, it has unfortunately sent abroad what was calculated to inflame passion, to corrupt purity of heart, to darken reason, and to lead to excesses, to which the prevalence of misrepresentation and of sophistical delusion alone could have impelled.

But after stating, in the strongest manner, the evils which have flowed from it, there can be no hesitation in regarding it as of inestimable value, and in considering its efficacy, as having been, upon the whole, in the highest degree beneficial. To the first reformers, it certainly afforded advantages without which they might have seen their principles confined within the narrow circle of personal attachment, or professed only by those who, from their local situation, could attend where these principles were inculcated. As the restoration of science, by enlightening the understandings of those who sought after truth, enabled them to discern the number-

* Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 216. Robertson's Hist. of Charles V. Vol. II. Campbell's Lectures on Ecclesiastical Hist. Vol. II. p. 333. Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation in the Low Countries, Vol. I. B. ii. p. 35.

less absurdities of popery, to compare with the scriptures the unbounded prerogatives of the bishops of Rome, and thus to detect their arrogance, their falsehood, their ambition, and their infidelity, the press gave to these discoveries all the extent of circulation which the authors of them wished that they should possess ; placed them conspicuously in the public view ; and induced the mass of the community to acquire the art of reading, which opened to them the gates of knowledge and the paths of religion.

These two causes early inspired the popes, and the cardinals who composed their council, with the most serious apprehensions. Before printing was known, the bishops of Rome readily protected and sanctioned institutions which had for their object to cherish literature, probably from the hope of attaching to themselves the learned men who issued from these institutions, and employing their abilities in the sad work of imposing upon the credulity, and bewildering the reason of mankind. Even after this discovery, some of the popes, who were fond of elegant studies, countenanced them within their own palaces, regardless of consequences, or without permitting the anticipation of these consequences to incline them to the painful duty of self-denial.* But with these exceptions, it is apparent that the general policy of Rome looked

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Alarm of the popes, and attempts to counteract these causes.

* Different Histories of the Life of Leo X.

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with a suspicious or hostile eye to learning and the press.* In fact, the strongest methods were taken to restrain or to direct them both, and to confine them to subjects little connected with religion, or what, in the estimation of the pontiffs, was much more important than even religion itself, with the pretensions which they urged, and the claims which they made upon the faithful.

Index expurgatorius.

From the first ages of the Christian church, pious men avoided reading books which, they believed, had a tendency to injure morality or to corrupt religion. This practice was founded upon the obvious suggestions of reason, and was obligatory, independently of all human authority. After the controversies, which exercised the ingenuity and inflamed the passions of Christians, increased in number, and, as was most frequently the case, in frivolity, the rule, so proper in its first application, was extended to the writings of heretics; and the defence of every opinion, hostile to established faith, was shunned, as if it were equally to be condemned with what was impious or depraved. Several of the emperors, in their anxiety for the orthodoxy of their subjects, prohibited all books which exposed or confuted what the decrees of councils had declared to be essential to the faith. The church, however, long acted in this matter with much moderation, and with a spirit more congenial to the en-

* Roscoe's *Life of Leo X.*, Vol. III. p. 143.

larged benevolence of the Author of Christianity. Introductory Book.
The bishops and clergy pointed out those writings which they conceived to be pernicious; but having done so, they left the question with regard to the safety or propriety of perusing them to be determined by the consciences of those who sought its decision. After the eighth century, this liberty ceased. The popes then assumed the right of prescribing what ought to be believed, and of consigning to the flames every work in which there was the slightest opposition to their declarations.

But it was not till the age of Leo X. that this practice of prohibiting books became frequent, because it was not till then that attacks against the Roman hierarchy were very numerous. Leo, in the ardour of his zeal against Luther, not only condemned that reformer, but he threatened to excommunicate all who read what he had written. Succeeding popes, as their terrors increased, went beyond Leo, until at length they proscribed heretical writings without specification, and excommunicated those who perused them. This introduced the greatest confusion into the church, and created much unhappiness. As the heretical books, which had excited the papal indignation, were often not named, and as the heresy with which they were poisoned, could thus not be discovered, except by perusal, it occasionally happened that the most devoted adherents of the popes found themselves liable to the most dreadful spiritual denunciations.

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In some degree to remedy this evil, the inquisition, not much famed for merciful attention to mankind, drew up a catalogue of prohibited books, which the king of Spain ordered to be printed and distributed. The popes enlarged this catalogue. In its original state, it included only works which were heretical in doctrine; but the new editions of it proscribed every work which contained any insinuation against the supremacy of the pontiffs, which defended their inferiority to general councils, or maintained the rights of temporal princes. A very large proportion of books was thus branded; but the inquisitors, stimulated by the bishops of Rome, did not think the field of instruction sufficiently narrowed, for they pronounced an anathema against all who should read any work upon any subject printed by sixty-two printers whom they named, and against all books which should be printed by those who had published what was adjudged to be heretical.

It is sufficiently obvious, from these measures, that had the power of the church of Rome been equal to her inclination, Europe would have been again plunged into the barbarism, from which Providence had enabled it to escape. But the thunders of the Vatican were now heard without emotion, at least they could not counteract the curiosity and love of inquiry which had been excited. Prohibited books were everywhere purchased and read; and the church found it necessary to attempt the

accomplishment of her design by a less open, but a more insidious and dangerous scheme. Under her inspection, splendid editions of the most celebrated ancient ecclesiastical writers were printed and dispersed ; but the text was mangled or interpolated. Every passage offensive to the spiritual power was erased, and other passages, supporting its pretensions, were inserted. These editions found their way into all the countries of Europe ; and as there was furnished no mode of distinguishing them, it is exceedingly difficult to ascertain what were the sentiments of those authors upon whose real opinions much reliance might have been placed.*

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Vol. II. p. 136, &c. ; in which there is a luminous dissertation by the author himself, upon this singular and interesting subject, and a most curious account of the different debates of the fathers of the council respecting prohibited books. Dr Campbell, in his Lectures upon Church History, has very carefully collected much information respecting this matter, and has very ably and forcibly stated it. An index of prohibited books was published by the council of Trent, under the sanction of Pius V., Sextus V., Clement VIII., and various other indexes were published at Antwerp, Madrid, and Rome. The most ample work of this kind, however, was published at Madrid, under the auspices of the fathers of the inquisition, in 1612, to which an appendix was added in 1614. The whole work consists of about 900 small folio pages, closely printed. As most of my readers may not have access to this singular production, or time to analyze it, I shall give a short account of the manner in which it is constructed. There is prefixed to it the sanction of Paul V., dated the 26th January 1612. In the bull containing it, his holiness withdraws from all classes of men, with the exception of the holy office, the privileges which they might have received of reading heretical books, and denounces the most severe punishments, ecclesiastical and temporal, against those who read them, who kept them in

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Profligacy and impiety of the popes before the reformation.

From the united operation of these causes, men were prepared for a reformation, were enabled to attempt it, and would in all likelihood, at some period, have accomplished it. That period however would

their possession, or who did not inform against such as had them. This is succeeded by an address from the inquisitor-general, very suitable to his occupation, in which he laments the evils that had been produced by the circulation of heretical writings; mentions the anxious deliberations of the fathers about the best mode of removing them; extols the benevolence and condescension of the pope, in prohibiting whatever the inquisition thought proper to condemn; and concludes, by warning all of the fate that awaited them, if they did not yield implicit obedience to the injunction which he addressed to them. In an advertisement to the reader, he is informed, that the utmost care had been taken to distinguish heretics, and even those suspected of heresy; and that so scrupulous and tender was the anxiety of the framers of the catalogue to prevent error, that all the works of proscribed authors had been condemned or purified; not only those relating to religion, but to polite literature, and other branches of science. Thirteen rules are enumerated, explaining the principles upon which the compilers of the index had proceeded. All books previous to the year 1515, which had been condemned by popes or councils, are declared to be under condemnation, although not particularly specified. The writings of heresiarchs, after that period, and of all who countenanced them, are proscribed, such as those of Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, &c. and others who entertained similar sentiments.

The versions of the Old and New Testaments, published by heretics, are prohibited, and respecting translations of the Scriptures in general, it is declared, that as it is apparent that more injury than good would result from their being published in the vulgar tongues of respective nations, all translations of the Bible, and all summaries of its contents, whether printed or in manuscript, are condemned. All books or tracts posterior to the 1584, in which there is not express mention of the author, printer, place and time of publication, are interdicted. The other rules specify the manner in which they proceeded in correcting and altering books which, though not unexcep-

most probably have been delayed, or the extent of the reformation would have been contracted, Introductory Book.

tionable, they did not conceive it proper altogether to prohibit. Two orders, addressed to printers and booksellers, follow, enjoining them not to deviate from the instructions of the holy office. The index is then divided into three parts. The first part enumerates the names of authors guilty of heresy or suspected of it; and these authors are considered as so radically malignant, that not only all the works which they had published are condemned and prohibited, but all which they might, at any future period, give to the world. The second part details the books which, with certain exceptions mentioned, are absolutely prohibited; but this prohibition does not extend to other works of the authors of these books not particularly specified. The third part contains a list of anonymous works which are prohibited—such anonymous works as were published before 1584; for all such works after that period, however written, or upon whatever subject, had been at the beginning interdicted. After thus collecting the titles of books absolutely prohibited, and the names of authors explicitly condemned, the index specifies the corrections that should be made upon those books which the fathers permitted to be read, and the cautions which should be given to those who perused them. Erasmus, of course, excited the indignation of these gloomy and illiterate persecutors. Some of his works, however, they allow to be circulated, others they entirely condemn; but they command that in the title pages even of the permitted works, there should be inserted, after the two words “*Erasmi Roterodami*,” *Auctoris damnati*. In the beginning of these works, too, they insisted that the following note should be inserted, “*Opera omnia Erasmi, caute legenda; tam multa enim insunt correctione digna, ut vix omnia expurgari possint*.” A translation of the Old and New Testaments had been published at St Andrews, anno 1587, by Franciscus Vatablus. With respect to this it is ordered, in ipsa prima libri facie, adscribe, “*monemus lectorem hæc Vatabli scholia, in multis ab hæreticis depravata*.” After the name of Scaliger they order to be added, “*Auctoris damnati*,” and after “*non edita*,” *prohibita, sed cum correctione permissa*. Deinde expurgatur tota præfatio Isaaci Causaboni. Great havoc is made upon the history of Thuanus; and this remark is inserted, very

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had the popes exhibited, in their own persons, a marked contrast to the general profligacy of the clergy, and continued to display the simplicity and moderation which distinguished the first teachers of Christianity. It is, however, impossible to read their history, without perceiving that they sought a pre-eminence in enormity, as well as in rank, or without being filled with amazement that their scandalous vices did not sooner excite universal indignation, and inspire the determined resolution to shake off a yoke which was imposed by hands blackened by corruption. There is no crime so atrocious, no meanness so degrading, and no hypocrisy so contemptible, as not occasionally to have been committed or practised by the successors of St Peter. Many of them were monsters rather than men; gloried in the most debasing and offensive intemperance; and coolly executed schemes of villany, for which no punishment could have been too severe.

The fifteenth century closed, and the sixteenth commenced, under the pontificate of Alexander VI., a man whose infamy admits of no palliation, and whose

much to the honour of that indefatigable and most respectable writer: *Totum hoc opus Thuanæ cantissime, et cum judicio legendum, eo quod multa honorifice ab ipso, in favorem protestantium dicantur.* It is impossible to reflect upon this systematic attempt to perpetuate ignorance and superstition, to corrupt the sources of truth, and to disseminate error and falsehood, without the strongest feelings of indignation, and without the deepest impressions of gratitude for the reformation, which thus appears to have vindicated the intellectual, no less than the religious rights and privileges of mankind.

character even a Roman Catholic writer has thus strikingly delineated : " He would have been the most wicked man in the world, had not his natural son been more wicked than himself."* Introductory Book.

He was succeeded (for the short reign of Pius III. only for a few days need not be regarded) by Julius II. This pontiff delivered himself up to the turbulence of the most restless ambition. Far from being what his profession called him to be, the advocate of peace, and the friend of humanity, he was engaged in continual war, and in creating causes of dissension amongst the sovereigns by whom he was surrounded. He himself assumed the military habit, and he was employed in devising new hostilities, and in preparing additional calamities for his subjects, when he was overtaken by death.†

Leo X., of the illustrious house of Medicis, then Leo X. ascended the papal throne. Endowed with the most elegant and captivating manners, attached to the pursuits of literature, and the patron of all who excelled in them, he was careless about religion, and ignorant of its principles and its doctrines. He openly expressed the contempt with which he regarded it, and even within the walls of his palace,

* Mezeray, quoted by Rapin. Guicciardini, Lib. iii. Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the Sixteenth Century, B. i. ch. v. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 287.

† Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, and note by Couayer. Pallavicini, quoted by him. Guicciardini, Lib. ix. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. III. p. 287. Bayle's Dictionary, Vol. II. article Julius II.

impiety or atheism was publicly avowed. Thus destitute of the devout feelings and sentiments which he ought to have cultivated, he was most assiduous in enlarging his authority, in aggrandizing his family, in despoiling princes, and in ruining those to whom he was under essential obligations. Devoted to licentious pleasure, festivity, theatrical representations, and sumptuous entertainments occupied his hours of leisure, while the ministers of his vices secured, by their infamous compliances, the direction of that patronage, which should have encouraged the efforts of piety, and promoted the propagation of religion.*

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Book I. Vol. I. p. 8, 9. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 289. Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 17, 18. Jortin's Life of Erasmus. Bayle's Dictionary, Vol. II. under article Leo X. To those of my readers who have formed their opinion of Leo, from the character which Hume has assigned to him, the representation which I have given will appear harshly and unfairly delineated. That historian, speaking of the accession of Leo, thus, with his usual felicity, expresses himself: "In the place of Julius was chosen John de Medicis, who took the appellation of Leo X., and proved one of the most illustrious princes that ever sat upon the papal throne. Humane, beneficent, generous, affable, the patron of every art, and the friend of every virtue, he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor, but was more gentle, pliant, and artful, in employing means for the execution of them. The sole defect, indeed, of his character, was too great finesse and artifice; a fault which, both as a priest and an Italian, it was difficult for him to avoid." Must not the friend of every virtue have commended the veneration of mankind, and must not he, whose sole fault was a little too much artifice and finesse, for which, however, Mr Hume suggests what he considers as an ample apology, have appeared deserving of a high place amongst the worthiest of rulers?

Such were the causes which, previous to the era of the reformation, had excited in princes and in the great body of the community, the wish, or the determination, to introduce some essential changes with

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The reformation the natural consequence of the previous state of Christendom.

I was struck by the panegyric, and looked with anxiety to the source from which the writer of it had derived his information. I have consulted Father Paul, to whom he refers; and anxiety for historical truth leads me reluctantly to observe, that only part of what that intelligent historian says of Leo has been translated, one great fault in the pontiff, venial, perhaps, in the estimation of Mr Hume, but which chiefly directed the sentiments of the contemporaries of Leo, having been overlooked or concealed. The reader shall judge for himself. Father Paul, who was certainly prejudiced in favour of this pope, writes of him (I quote from the French translation, by Courayer): "Leon apporta au pontificat, de grandes qualitez, qui etoient le fruit de la naissance illustre, et de l'excellente education qu'il avoit reçue. Il avoit entre autres, une grande connoissance des belles lettres, une inclination particulière a favoriser les gens savans et vertueux, de l'humanité, de la bonté, une extreme libéralité, et une si grande affabilité à traiter avec tout le monde, qu'on trouvoit quelque chose de plus qu'humain, dans toutes ses manières, et que depuis tres long temps on n'avoit point vu, sur le saint siege, de pape qui eut de si grandes qualitez, ou même d'approchantes. Et il eut été un pontiffe parfait, si à tant de perfections il eut joint quelque connoissance des choses de la religion, et un peu plus d'inclination à la pieté, choses dont il ne parut jamais se mettre beaucoup en peine." I do not complain of Mr Hume merely for not having consulted some other writers before he decided his opinion of Leo, or for not even having cast his eye over the note which Le Courayer has subjoined to the above passage, and which might have induced him to qualify his admiration; but he certainly did not act with perfect candour, when, in drawing the character of the head of the church, he not only omitted to mention Leo's ignorance of religion and his impiety, but even led his readers to think that no such charge could be brought against the pontiff, by asserting, that his sole fault was something quite different from irreligion. A historian is not entitled to decide upon characters according to his own prejudices, without stating the ground on which he proceeds. Although

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respect to ecclesiastical polity. The reformation was thus the natural consequence of the previous state of Christendom, although particular circumstances, in the arrangement of which the mercy of divine Providence was conspicuously displayed, determined the form which it assumed, and the extent to which it was carried.*

The immediate cause of this most interesting revolution is familiar to every reader of history ; yet a summary view of the events to which that cause gave rise, will introduce with propriety the details of the following work, and afford an opportunity of marking the gradual progress of the first opponents of the hierarchy from the tenets which they first published, till they declared open and irreconcilable hostility against the bishops of Rome.

1517.

Indulgences issued by Leo.

Leo having, by his prodigality, dissipated the wealth of the church, adopted the advice of one of the most experienced of his cardinals, and resolved

Mr Hume might have regarded impiety as rather exalting Leo, he ought not to have suppressed that the pope was impious, but, by stating the fact, have left all to form their own conclusion, or to acquiesce in that which he had suggested. Roscoe, in the 24th chapter of his *Life of Leo*, has dwelt fully upon the character of the pontiff. It is to be regretted that there is in that chapter much vagueness. The writer attempts to justify Leo rather by insinuation than by evidence. Even he, however, admits that the pope often acted inconsistently with the gravity of his character, and derived pleasure from the lowest buffoonery.

* Introduction to Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*.

to replenish his treasury by issuing indulgences, and offering them to all who were willing to purchase them.* This had been done by many of his predecessors, and he was too indifferent about religion, and his council too eager to accumulate riches, to discern that the changes which were daily taking place in the sentiments of mankind, rendered caution and delicacy in a matter of this nature absolutely necessary. Under the pretence of raising money to complete the splendid fabric of St Peter's church at Rome, Leo granted indulgences, which authorized those who bought them to dispense with the fastings and austerity of Lent, to choose a confessor agreeable to themselves, and, what certainly was the most valuable part of them, conferred an entire remission of sins, with deliverance from the pains, which they who did not possess the indulgences would undergo in purgatory.

These indulgences were everywhere published. The right of selling them was assigned to the highest bidder, and so little regard was paid to decency, or to the object for which they were professedly given, that Leo bestowed on a favourite sister the revenue which might arise from them in Upper and Lower Saxony, as far as the Baltic Sea.†

Albert, archbishop of Magdeburg, one of the

* Beausobre's History of the Reformation. Mosheim and Du Pin's History of the Sixteenth Century.

† Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 22.

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Abuses which attended their distribution.

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most considerable of the German prelates had exhausted his resources by large donations to the pope ; and hoping that, by giving his countenance to this scandalous traffic, he would retrieve his circumstances, he lent his aid to the circulation of the indulgences in Germany, after having secured for himself half the profits.*

Character of Tetzel.

Tetzel, a Dominican friar, a man of infamous character, but who had most successfully conducted the sale of indulgences for the knights of the Teutonic order, offered his services to Albert ; and these having been accepted, he commenced his exertions with all the ardour which the love of money, and of the pleasures which affluence procures, could excite in a depraved and profligate mind. In a style of eloquence adapted to move an ignorant and superstitious people, he preached the merits or the excellency of the commodity which he was anxious to distribute ; affirmed that the grace of indulgences was the same with that which reconciles man to God ; that contrition and repentance were no longer necessary, and that robberies, murders, and other detestable crimes, were sins, the pardon of which it was now easy to obtain. To such a length did he proceed, that he gave absolution, not only for sins which had been committed,

* Beausobre's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 29. Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the 16th Century, Book ii. chapter 1, and note by the translator. Mosheim's Church History, Vol. III. p. 304. Roscoe's Life of Leo X., Vol. III. p. 158.

but for those which the purchasers of indulgences might afterwards commit. He even sold the liberty of perpetrating enormities, which the most polluted imagination alone could have conceived, and which the mind shudders to record.*

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The manners of Tetzel, and of his companions, corresponded with the shocking and impious tenets which they inculcated. They threw aside all regard to modesty, and under the protecting shield of the pope, who, by thus sheltering them, surely merited the scriptural appellation of the man of sin, they were guilty of every excess to which unbounded licentiousness, supported by the assurance of impunity, could impel them.†

It was almost impossible that doctrines and practices so flagitious could escape without animadversion.

Luther. His education and character.

* Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 32-34. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 304. Jortin's Life of Erasmus. Seckendorff mentions the following circumstance respecting Tetzel. He had, by the sale of indulgences, collected much money in Leipsic. A gentleman of that city, who had no veneration for such superstition, went to Tetzel, and asked him if he would sell an indulgence beforehand for a crime which he would not specify, but which he intended to commit. Tetzel consented; the price was paid, and the absolution delivered. Soon after this, the gentleman knowing that Tetzel was going from Leipsic with the money which he had collected, way-laid, beat, and robbed him; he then told him that this was the crime for which he had purchased absolution. George Duke of Saxony, a zealous friend to the court of Rome, hearing of this robbery, was at first very angry, but being informed of the whole story, he laughed heartily, and pardoned the criminal.

† Beausobre, p. 34 and 25. Maclaine, note to Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 305. Jortin's Life of Erasmus. Brandt's History, Vol. I. B. ii. p. 37. Roscoe's Life of Leo. X., Vol. III. p. 151.

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- sion. They must have excited much abhorrence, and that abhorrence was at length expressed by Martin Luther, professor of divinity in the university of Wirtemberg. This astonishing man, whose memory should ever be associated with the invaluable blessings of civil and religious liberty, was
1483. born at Isleben, a town in Saxony. He commenced his studies at Eisenac, where he remained four years; he then spent one year at Magdeburg, and the remainder of the period which elapsed till he went to Wirtemberg, at Erford in Thuringia. He there took his degree as master of arts, with the intention of prosecuting the study of law. From this intention he was diverted by seeing a companion struck dead by lightning. In the serious frame of mind which this affecting accident produced, he, at the age of twenty-two, embraced the monastic life.* Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his father, who probably considered the cause that led his son to adopt this resolution as a transient feeling which might leave behind it the bitterness of regret, he entered into the convent of Augustines at Erford, and he laid there the foundation of that knowledge of divine truth which he afterwards displayed.†
- 1505.

He had spent about a year in the convent, when

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the 16th Century, B. ii. ch. 1, Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 41, 42.

† Beausobre's History of the Reformation. The account of Luther in this work is most interesting and authentic.

he accidentally met with a Latin Bible. It was ^{Introductory Book.} not till this fortunate discovery, that he knew of the existence of any scripture except the passages inserted in the breviary, and the offices of the church.* Delighted with the sacred volume, and encouraged by the exhortations of the vicar-general, who discerned in his young friend an intrepidity, which, at a future period, might be of much importance to the interest of religion, he studied scripture with unwearied attention, and committed to memory its most striking passages. He employed almost the whole of his time in the acquisition of human or divine knowledge, occasionally, however, relaxing his mind with music, of which he was a composer and a performer, or with some of the mechanical arts.† After he had thus prepared himself he took orders, and in the following year was called to Wirtemberg to teach philosophy. He soon distinguished himself by his acuteness, his 1507. learning, the vivacity of his wit, and the liberality of his sentiments; and being held in high estimation by his order, he was sent to Rome in consequence of some dispute in which the members of it were engaged.‡ The effect which this journey produced upon him was very great. He saw, and he deplored, the impiety of the Italian priests, who

* Beausobre, p. 44.

† Ditto, p. 46. Jortin's Life of Erasmus.

‡ Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the 16th Century. Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 46.

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had not scrupled to ridicule the seriousness with which, when he was asked, he performed the services of the church.*

1512.

He at length assumed the degree of doctor of divinity, and from this time gave himself entirely up to reading the scriptures and the works of the fathers, particularly those of Augustine. At a mature age, he acquired a thorough knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, that he might read the New Testament in the original, and compare it with the most celebrated translations. Discerning the fallacy and unsatisfactory nature of the scholastic philosophy, he had the fortitude to declaim against it, and he had thus excited some suspicions of his tendency to heresy, even before he delivered his sentiments upon indulgences.†

He also gave lectures on theology, which fixed almost universal attention. The people listened with delight to explanations of scripture which they could easily understand, and to the numerous quotations from the sacred books, by which Luther supported what he taught.‡

This short account of the habits and the studies of the first reformer, plainly shews that he must have discerned the impiety and the falsehood of those doctrines, which the venders of indulgences every where disseminated, and very naturally and

* Seckendorf, p. 39.

† Du Pin, as above. Beausobre, p. 49 and 50, with the note.

‡ Beausobre, p. 50.

satisfactorily accounts for his endeavouring, as a faithful minister, to guard his congregation against them. When he saw the people, whom he had been appointed to instruct, crowding to purchase indulgences, he shewed them that many things were more agreeable to God than this inordinate desire to obtain pardons; and he did this in so interesting a manner, that multitudes repaired to listen to what he taught. The elector of Saxony, however, was displeased with these discourses, and Luther, who probably had not at that time minutely examined the subject, and certainly had not conceived the idea of resisting the Church of Rome, became silent.*

But happily for Christendom, events soon occurred which kindled his zeal, and permanently engaged him in the noble work which he had the happiness, in so great a degree, to accomplish. As the dispensers of indulgences approached Wirtemberg, the scandalous errors of their lives pressed more closely on his observation. He saw that the reality exceeded, in deformity, the picture which he had perhaps partly attributed to the fancy or the exaggeration of those who drew it; and the feelings which thus were raised, were strengthened, when many who came to confess to him, pleaded their indulgences as a reason for not submitting to the penance which he prescribed to them. As he refused to absolve them, they complained to Tetzels, who,

Led to oppose indulgences.

* Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 56 and 57.

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with the utmost violence, threatened with the inquisition all who thus despised indulgences. To render his threat more impressive, he collected a pile of wood, as if he had been to burn in effigy those against whom it was denounced.* This intemperate and provoking conduct irritated the susceptible temper of Luther, and no doubt confirmed his determination to investigate the subject which had given rise to it. He examined, by the lights which he had acquired, the foundation upon which indulgences rested, and he published the result of his inquiries in a series of propositions.† To these propositions he added some questions, which he ascribed to the people, and which exposed, in the most sarcastic and effectual manner, the absurdity of indulgences, and the gross want of principle displayed in the publication of them.‡

Ability displayed by him, and success which attended his exertions.

This production, addressed to the common sense of mankind, and abounding with the most obvious principles of reason, pleased and persuaded numbers who perused it. He followed this attack by preaching upon the same topics, and by explaining in his discourses even more fully than he had done in the propositions, the sentiments which he enter-

* Beausobre, p. 58, 59.

† Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the 16th Century, Book ii, ch. 1. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 304. Beausobre, p. 59 to 61.

‡ Beausobre, p. 61, 62. One of the questions was, Why the pope, who liberated souls from purgatory for money, does not do it for charity?

tained.* These sentiments spread with the utmost rapidity over Germany. Many were convinced of the uselessness of what, a little before, they had so highly valued; and to such a height did disgust at the collectors attain, that in some districts they could find no purchasers, and even were frequently in danger of being put to death.†

Tetzel saw the necessity of taking measures to preserve the lucrative commerce in which he had engaged. Under the protection, and in the spirit of the pope, he condemned to the flames the propositions of Luther, while at the same time he endeavoured to refute them by two disputations which he caused to be printed.‡ But neither the fire which he had kindled, nor the sophistry which he had employed, could destroy the writings, or daunt the intrepidity of Luther. With the utmost freedom he ridiculed the arguments and exposed the rash assumptions of Tetzel; and when he was afterwards pressed by the authority of the popes, he passed from the first subject of dispute that he might modestly inquire into that authority. He asserted the doctrines which the councils of Constance and of Basil had sanctioned, respecting the inferiority of the bishops of Rome to a general council, and urged the great need of speedily assembling such a council to remedy, or to remove,

* Mosheim. Beausobre.

† Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 70.

‡ Du Pin. Beausobre, as above quoted.

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Motives which influenced him.

the abuses which it was impossible longer to tolerate.*

The account which has thus been given of the motives which influenced Luther, and of the gradual enlargement of his views, is natural and satisfactory; because it exhibits him as acting in the manner in which a sincere friend of truth in his situation must have done. But a different cause has been assigned for his zeal—a cause which, although detracting nothing indeed from the reformation itself, which rests upon its own merits, and cannot be sullied by any conduct of those who promoted it, exhibits him in a much less favourable light, as swayed by mean and unworthy jealousy, and as rendering religion subservient to the gratification of private feelings, and interested resentment. The enlightened historian of the council of Trent has affirmed, that the sale of indulgences in Germany had been usually assigned to the Augustine friars, and that the preference which, under the pontificate of Leo, the elector of Mentz gave to the Dominicans, excited the indignation of Luther; who, to avenge the cause of his order, wrote and preached against what, under another arrangement, he would have assisted to circulate. This account has been adopted by the more modern historians attached to the Romish communion, and has been countenanced and espoused by Hume, whose prejudices against the whole clerical body inclined

* Mosheim. Beausobre.

him to attribute their best actions to the most improper and invidious motives.*

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Yet notwithstanding all this authority, there is no direct evidence for the truth of the opinion, and there is very strong evidence against it. Bellarmine, about whose zeal for the Roman church there can be no doubt, does not insist upon it; while other early writers of that church attribute the scheme of opposing indulgences to Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Augustines; and even admit that the abuses of the collectors first impelled Luther to guard men against them.—And the historical assumption is unfounded. The Dominicans had, for several years, possessed the privileges which they exercised at the reformation. They had, under the authority of Leo, collected large sums of money, without one complaint being made by the brethren of St Augustine. Some credit, too, may surely be given to Luther's own declaration, who, more than twenty years after his opposition commenced, and when he could have no motive for asserting a falsehood, averred that it had been occasioned by the manners and practices of the collectors.†

* Father Paul's History of the Council, Book i. Du Pin, B. 2. ch. 1. p. 33, and note d, to that page. Hume's History of England.

† This subject is most clearly discussed by Beausobre, p. 66-70, and by Dr MacLaine, in an admirable note, inserted in his edition of Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 304. Dr Jortin, although he supposes that the Augustinians were irritated that the Dominicans had obtained the sale of indulgences, admits, in a note, that it does not seem to have been any spleen against the Dominicans that set Luther to work,

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This account derives much confirmation from his not having been the only person who, upon these grounds, raised his voice against the abuse which he attacked. The celebrated Zuinglius, who established the reformation in Switzerland, had commenced his opposition to some of the errors of Rome before the appearance of Luther. The Swiss reformer derived the knowledge, which decided his conduct, not from Germany, but from his own perusal of the scriptures; and it is surely equally probable that Luther might have been influenced by the same disinterested admiration of divine truth.*

But whatever may be determined respecting the primary cause of Luther's exertions, and even although these might be ascribed to attachment to his order, it is indisputable that he soon came to act from other views. In the course of his investigations, he made discoveries which astonished him, and placed the church of Rome in a light in which he had not previously conceived that she could be regarded. In consequence of these discoveries, he avowed a complete revolution in his opinions, and actually withdrew from the very order, for the sake of

but a dislike of such practices; adding, with his usual sound judgment, Luther's warmth against indulgences was very pardonable, considering that they were one of the most shocking insults upon common sense and Christianity that ever appeared in the world. *Life of Erasmus.*

* Beausobre, towards the end of the Vol. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 318, and note k to that page. Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the 15th Century, B. ii. ch. 9. Roscoe's Life of Leo X., Vol. IV. ch. xix. p. 44.

which he had, according to the opinion of some ^{Introductory Book.} writers, drawn upon himself the violence and inveteracy of papal enmity.*

It belongs not to my subject minutely to trace the steps by which Luther daily advanced to a more just theology, or to follow him till he adopted the fundamental tenet which Protestants of all denominations profess to have embraced—that scripture is the only rule of faith and manners, and that this rule is to be interpreted by the exercise of private judgment. It ought, however, to be observed, that, like other eminent men, who, at an earlier period, had inveighed against the practices and doctrines of Rome, although the principles which he laid down, even at the commencement of his dissent from prevailing tenets, were really incompatible with the existence of papal usurpation, he was not immediately aware that this was the case. He long professed that he was a devoted servant of the church; he often sought, with much anxiety, to be reconciled to it; he spoke with the utmost reverence of the person of the pope; and it is apparent that, had Leo conducted himself with the calmness and moderation, which, had he foreseen the consequences, he would have exercised, Luther might have been kept in the communion of Rome.†

But the pontiff long considered the points in

* Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, B. i. Du Pin's Ecclesiastical Hist. of the Sixteenth Century, Books i. and ii. Beausobre's Hist. of the Reformation, from p. 90.

† Beausobre, p. 103. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 305, and 307.

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Imprudence of the papal court, in resisting and condemning him.

dispute as frivolous, and treated the dispute itself with contempt. He had not the least apprehension that an obscure monk could successfully resist, far less overthrow that power, before which the mightiest monarchs had trembled ; and feeling no uneasiness with respect to his own authority, he beheld with indifference the effect which might be produced on religion. Even after he found it necessary to interfere, he did not weigh with sufficient consideration the steps which were to be taken. He insisted, or his legates insisted, upon unconditional submission, and indignantly rejected the reasonable proposals of Luther, acquiescence in which would have silenced him for ever.*

1520.
15th June.

The bull which, in an hour most unfortunate for Rome, the pope, in opposition to his own private sentiments, issued, destroyed every hope, and indeed every possibility of accommodation. Luther now saw himself proscribed ; and he naturally inquired with more diligence and boldness into the origin of that power which had consigned him to destruction.† Having ascertained its real nature, and its inconsistency with the humility so earnestly enjoined by Jesus, and with the beneficent and humane spirit of the Christian religion, he contemptuously burned the bull and the decretals, pronounced the pope to be anti-

10th Dec.
1520.

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the Sixteenth Century, B. ii. ch. 2. Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, B. i. Beausobre's Hist. of the Reformation, p. 126, 138, 139. Brandt, Vol. i. p. 39. Maclaine in Mosh. Vol. III p. 313.

† A particular account of the bull may be found in Father Paul, Du Pin, Beausobre. See also Roscoe, Vol. IV. p. 17.

christ, exhorted his pupils, and those whose opi-^{Introductory Book.}nions he could influence, to separate themselves from a corrupt, and an unchristian church ; thus laying the foundation of that system to which protestants have permanently adhered, and which has produced such important and decisive effects upon the condition of Europe.*

He soon acquired the decided support of many ^{Establishment of the Reformed church.} of the German princes. Through their interference he was protected from the cruel and deceitful policy of Rome, and from the violence of imperial persecution. The schism was confirmed ; and, after repeated struggles, Charles V. was compelled to grant to the protestants the free exercise of their religion, and to recognize a church, which not only condemned the errors of the popes, but denied the reality of that spiritual dominion with which they had been invested.

Such was the state of religion upon the continent when the principles of Luther were introduced into Scotland, and produced there the events, the conduct, and the revolutions, which it is the design of the following history faithfully to detail.

* Father Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, Book i. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 321. Beausobre's History of the Reformation, p. 378, 379. Du Pin, B. ii. ch. 9. Roscoe's Life of Leo X., Vol. IV. p. 22, 23.

HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER FIRST.

Principles of the Reformers introduced into Scotland....

Patrick Hamilton ; His address and caution ; Alarms the clergy ; Circumvented, accused and condemned to the flames....Fate of Campbell who betrayed him.... Hamilton's sufferings and death dispose mens minds to embrace the Reformation....Several of the regular clergy support it....Seton....Persecution suspended by political convulsions....Renewed... Examples....Convocation of bishops... Persecution extended to different parts of Scotland....Just sentiments of the Archbishop of Glasgow ; Counteracted...Banishment and flight of many eminent men....Buchanan... Death of James Beaton, Archbishop of St Andrews ; Character....Succeeded by Cardinal Beaton ; He organizes a plan for the steady persecution of heretics.

THE striking events which had occurred in Germany, and which had called forth the exertions of theologians, the anxiety of princes, and the apprehen-

CHAP.

I.

1528.

CHAP. I. sion of the pope and the church, soon arrested the
 1528. attention of other nations, and universally excited,
 Principles of the Re- in reflecting and intelligent men, the strongest in-
 formers in- terest. The reputation of Luther was widely dis-
 troduced into Scot- seminated, and the university in which he taught
 land. shared his reputation.

Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Fearn, a young man descended from an illustrious family, having heard of the doctrines avowed by the reformers, determined to go to Wirtemberg, that he might acquire his knowledge of them at the source from which they had derived their origin.* The motives which influenced him to leave his native country, and the station which he held in the church, naturally recommended him to the notice of Luther, and of Melancthon, his amiable colleague. In the society of these eminent men, he imbibed their opinions; and, animated with the most fervent zeal in the cause of truth, he resolved to communicate to Scotland the light which he had received.† Upon his arrival, he declaimed against the corruptions which had disfigured the gospel; he reproved the superstitious practices which had been sanctioned by the church; and multitudes eagerly listened to

* Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, B. i. p. 4. Keith's History of Scotland, B. i. c. 1. p. 7.

† Knox, B. i. p. 4. Spottiswoode's History of the Church of Scotland, B. ii. p. 62. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 407. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 140. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 179, 180.

representations, for which the carelessness, the luxury, and the vices of the priesthood, had, in a great degree, prepared their minds.*

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He was eminently qualified to engage the affections, and to make an impression upon the understandings of those who heard him. Interesting from his youth, and from the gracefulness of his appearance,—possessed of superior genius, which he had cultivated and embellished by literature and philosophy, and guided by the prudence which the discipline of science enabled him to exert, he adopted a line of conduct highly calculated to disseminate truth, without violently irritating the prejudices which he wished to remove.†

His address
and caution.

The clergy were soon alarmed by the success which attended his teaching. They had early perceived the danger to which they were exposed by the innovations of Luther; and they had resolved to guard against the danger by the severity of persecution, which their short-sighted and illiberal policy represented as the most effectual mode of preventing its approach.

Alarms the
clergy.

They could not, however, at his first appearance, wreak their vengeance upon Hamilton. Although they suspected the extent to which he wished reformation to be carried, he had expressed himself with the utmost caution; and they found it necessary to

Circum-
vented, ac-
cused, and
condemned
to the
flames.

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 62.

† Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 269. Spottiswoode, p. 62. Knox, B. i. p. 5. Heylin, B. iv. p. 140.

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have recourse to dissimulation, before they could execute the scheme which they had formed.* Under pretence that the archbishop was anxious to converse with him, they enticed him to come to St Andrews; and they appointed Campbell, a Dominican friar, a man of talents, but completely devoted to his order, to insinuate himself into his confidence, and to ascertain the real nature of the sentiments which he entertained.* His circumspection was not proof against artifice like this. Delighted with the conversation of Campbell, and probably anxious to convert one who could so powerfully assist him, he opened to him his views, and had the satisfaction to hear that his companion highly approved them. If this approbation was sincere, it was soon overcome by the friar's anxiety to ingratiate himself with the clergy; for he infamously reported what he had discovered, with every aggravation which malice or devotion to interest could suggest.† Hamilton, who had remained in St Andrews without any suspicion of danger, was upon this suddenly apprehended and imprisoned. Having been brought before the archbishops of St Andrews and Glasgow, and several other dignitaries of the church, he was accused of having

* Knox, B. i. p. 5. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 62. Keith, B. i. c. 1. p. 8. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 140.

† Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 62. Knox, B. i. p. 5. Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 269.

‡ Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 269.

taught, " That the corruption of sin remains in children after their baptism ; that no man, by the power of his free will, can do any good ; that no man is without sin so long as he liveth ; that every true Christian may know himself to be in a state of grace ; that a man is not justified by works, but by faith only ; that good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good works, and an ill man ill works, although these ill works, if truly repented, do not make an ill man ; that faith, hope, and charity are so linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all ; that God is the cause of sin in this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man, and grace withdrawn he cannot but sin ; that it is devilish doctrine to teach, that, by any actual penance, remission of sin is purchased ; that auricular confession is not necessary to salvation ; that there is no purgatory ; that the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's passion ; that the pope is Antichrist ; and that every priest hath as much power as the pope."*

CHAP.

L

1528.

In his defence, Hamilton admitted that he considered the first seven articles as unquestionably true ; the others he allowed to be doubtful, although he was rather inclined to regard them as agreeable to the word of God.†

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 63, Knox, p. 5. Appendix to Book I. of Keith's History of Scotland, No. 2.

† Spottiswoode, as above. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Part 2d. Vol. II. B. i. p. 26.

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I.

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Whatever opinion may be entertained of many of the points which he believed to be taught in Scripture, and however much it may be regretted that the attention of the reformers was so early, and so much fixed upon dark and disputable subjects, whilst the more obvious and interesting truths of revelation were less strenuously inculcated, it is apparent that the sentiments, for which Hamilton was accused, contained enough to shew that the church of Rome was built upon a wrong foundation, and that the judges who were to determine his fate were the supporters of delusion and superstition. They accordingly paid little regard to what he urged in favour of his principles, and, without hesitation, pronounced the awful sentence, delivering him over to the secular power, that he might suffer the shocking death which the barbarity of men, professing to be the teachers of a religion of mercy, had destined for all upon whom they could fix the imputation of heresy. The area before the gate of St Salvator's College was appointed to be the scene of execution; and, with aggravated cruelty, he was on the same day upon which he had been condemned, led forth to the stake.*

His intrepidity was worthy of the cause for which he was to suffer. While the fire was preparing, he exhibited his usual courtesy and beneficence to

* Knox, B. i. p. 5. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 63. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 140. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 407. Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 269.

his attendants. He gave to them some small tokens of his regard ; and when the executioners were surrounding with combustible materials the stake to which he was fastened, he raised his eyes to heaven, and commended his soul to God.* He was destined to undergo the utmost severity of bodily anguish. From negligence or from accident, he was only partially scorched by the first conflagration ; and in that state he remained till gunpowder could be procured from the castle, situated at a considerable distance.† His pain was not alleviated by the tormenting officiousness of the friars, who urged him to retract. Amongst these, Campbell was the most importunate. The best feelings of the heart must have been wounded by such an open display of baseness ; but he mildly besought his deceitful friend to retire, and not to imbitter the sad moments which he had hastened. When this gentle and affecting admonition was disregarded, he, in a more solemn tone, reproached him for his perfidy, and called upon him to answer for it before the tribunal of God.‡

The powder being now brought, his body was 29th Feb. quickly consumed ; but the length of his suffer-

* Knox, B. i. p. 5, 6. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 64.

† Knox and Spottiswoode, as above.

‡ Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 269. Knox, B. i. p. 6. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 64. I may here remark, that to ascertain the accuracy of the text, it is often necessary to consult all the authorities quoted ; when this is not the case, I mention several writers, to afford the most extensive means of determining the fidelity of the narration.

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1528. ings, and the patient resignation with which he had supported them, increased the effect, which his death would, at all events, have probably produced. The most tender compassion was almost universally felt for him, and even at the moment of his dissolution, he was venerated as a martyr to the truth.*

Fate of
Campbell,
who be-
trayed
him.

The melancholy fate of Campbell preserved and strengthened the feelings which had been excited. The dreadful scene which he had witnessed, the consciousness of the unworthy part which he had acted, and the terror with which the dying words of Hamilton had inspired him, preyed upon his mind ; his imagination was haunted, and his reason impaired ; he lost all relish for the comforts and pleasures of life ; and, after continuing in this situation for nearly a year, he expired at Glasgow, in a state of insanity or despair.†

Hamilton's
sufferings
and death
dispose
men's
minds to
embrace
the refor-
mation.

The prelates were sensible, that a sentence so unusually severe as that of Hamilton, and so rapidly carried into execution, might raise the detestation of the people. As some security against this, they sanctioned it by the subscription of all whose respectability or influence could give it weight ; and they even compel-

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 64. Keith, B. i. ch. i. p. 8. Compare with the accounts given by these protestant writers, that of Leslie, a popish author, Lib. ix. p. 407, of his book, *de Rebus Gestis Sootorum*. A very full account of the fate of Hamilton is given by Calderwood in his *MS. History*, Vol. I. under 1528.

† Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 269. Knox, B. i. p. 6. Spottiswoode, p. 64. Lindsay of Piscottie's *History of Scotland*, p. 134.

led young men of rank, who were studying at the university, to affix to it their signatures.* But all this precaution was unavailing. The feelings of mankind were now engaged on the side of reformation. Anxiety to examine the nature of the crime for which such punishment had been inflicted, led to the consideration of the doctrines which had been denounced ; these doctrines were more thoroughly investigated, and their beauty or truth became more apparent. Many who had disregarded or resisted the preaching of Hamilton, now adopted his opinions ; and so deep was the impression made upon the university, that it was never afterwards obliterated.†

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1528.

The fears of the clergy were accordingly soon again awakened, by an open profession of the tenets which they had endeavoured to repress. Many of the regulars, who chiefly engrossed the practice of preaching, began to inveigh in their sermons against the profligacy of the priesthood ; charging them with a shamelessness and a grossness of vice, which could not fail to rouse against them the most decided indignation and abhorrence. That some exaggeration might have been made, it is charitable, and perhaps reasonable, to believe ; but there must have existed, in the clerical order, a high degree of depravity, when they who attacked

Several of the regular clergy support it.

* Knox, p. 5. Spottiswoode, p. 63

† Knox, B. i. p. 14. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 64. Keith, B. i. ch. i. p. 8. Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, Book iv. p. 140.

CHAP. them, brought forward specific accusations against
 1528. the most distinguished prelates ; accusations which they could not have hazarded, had there not been too evident proof that what they stated was founded in truth.*

Seton. Seton, of the order of Dominicans, and confessor to the king, embraced an early opportunity of shewing how much he wished to correct the abuses which had so long prevailed. Having been appointed to preach at St Andrews during the lent which immediately succeeded the death of Hamilton, instead of dwelling upon the subjects which had been usually treated from the pulpit—pressing upon his audience the doctrine of purgatory and the obligation of pilgrimages, and amusing them with a relation of the pretended miracles by which the Romish church indecently supported its pretensions—he insisted upon points connected with the very essence of religion ; affirmed that the law of God was the only rule of righteousness ; that when it was not violated, there was no sin ; that it was impossible for man to give satisfaction for sin ; and that the only mode by which pardon could be obtained was, by sincere repentance, and trust in the mercy of Christ.

Leaving St Andrews soon after he had finished

* Knox, p. 14. Spottiswoode, p. 64. Keith, Introduction, and B. i. ch. i. Calderwood's true History of the Church of Scotland, published with the approbation of the General Assembly, anno 1670, p. 2.

this course of preaching, his doctrines were opposed by some of his own order. He returned ; illustrated what he had taught, and added to it a delineation of the temper and character of a Christian bishop, as these were described in Scripture. This was a subject still more offensive than those upon which he had formerly enlarged. He was summoned before the archbishop, and reproved for the rashness and presumption with which he had avowed his sentiments, and had censured the dignified members of the church. He defended himself by pleading, that he had employed the very language of Scripture ; that if, therefore, he had been in an error, that error was not his, but must be ascribed to those inspired men from whom it had been derived. The defence was not less grating than the crime ; but his determined spirit, and still more, the footing upon which he stood with the king, protected him from the cruel punishment to which he would else have, in all probability, been condemned.

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I.

1528.

It was, however, of much importance to the peace, or rather to the continuation of the corruption of the church, that he should be removed from a situation in which he might influence the royal mind, and direct against the clergy a power which they might not, in the convulsed state of Christendom be able to resist. To effectuate his removal, they not only denounced him as a heretic, but turned against him that virtuous anxiety with which he had laboured to moderate the passions

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I.

1528.

and to restrain the criminal indulgences of his sovereign. They insinuated to the monarch that his confessor had conducted himself with a rigid austerity which they did not approve; and they thus induced James to sacrifice a man who had most deservedly enjoyed his confidence and esteem.

Seton soon perceived that he could no longer expect the protection which he so much required, and he determined, by flying into England, to withdraw himself from the fury of the church. At Berwick, he wrote to the king, exposing the ambition of the clergy, and calling to his recollection those principles of sound policy by which his administration should be directed. He pointed out the subordination of the ecclesiastical to the civil power; exhorted James to assert the authority which, as a monarch, belonged to him; to shake off the yoke of clerical oppression; to check the unjust severity with which the clergy proceeded against all whom they chose to denominate heretics; and to suffer none to be condemned till they had been permitted to answer in their defence. That he might illustrate more strikingly the insecurity of the subjects, and the duty under which the sovereign lay to protect them, he described the state of his own mind, and the motives which influenced him to leave Scotland. He gave the following account of the character and dispositions of the priesthood; an account which must have been composed after mature consideration, and under a firm conviction of

its obvious truth. "Thy Grace may, by experience, daily learn, that they seek nothing else than augmenting of their insatiable avarice, and continual overthrowing and swallowing up thy poor subjects; neither preaching nor teaching out of the law of God to the rude ignorant people, but contending who may be most high, most rich, and nearest thy Grace."

CHAP.

L.

1528.

Seton probably hoped that this letter would make a deep impression upon the king; would awaken the kindly feelings with which the sovereign had long regarded him, and procure his immediate recal: for he mentioned that he would wait at Berwick until he received an answer.—He was, however, disappointed. In the gaiety of amusement, or in the heedlessness of youth, James had forgotten his conscientious confessor; and the good man, stung with the coldness and ingratitude of his master, bade a final adieu to his country.*

The doctrines of the reformers rapidly gained ground in Scotland; but several years elapsed before any violent steps were again taken to arrest their progress, or to punish those who professed them. The troubles and feuds with which the subversion of the power of the Earl of Angus, and the jarring conflicts of rival families, distracted the country, engrossed the prelates, who took an active

1533.

Persecution, which had been suspended by political convulsions, renewed.

* Knox, B. i. where there is inserted a copy of Seton's letter to the king. Spottiswoode, p. 64, 65. Keith, B. i. ch. 1. and Appendix, No 3. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. I.

CHAP. part in political transactions; and left them no
 I. leisure for attending even to opinions, the tendency
 1533. of which they had so much reason to dread.*

At the end of five years, persecution was renewed—and renewed with circumstances of aggravation which plainly shewed, that wisdom and mercy had not occasioned the forbearance which had been so long shewn to the enemies of the church.

Examples.

Forrest, a young Benedictine friar, had been overheard expressing some admiration of Hamilton; and as the clergy were most eager to blacken his memory, they proceeded against the man who had presumed to defend it. But anxious as they were to condemn, the proof against Forrest was so deficient, that they could not, without the most shameless disregard of every appearance of justice, pronounce the fatal sentence. They did not, however, acquit him, or put an end to the tedious imprisonment to which he had submitted; but in the hope of extorting some declaration from himself which they might use against him, they employed a friar to confess him. His willingness to be confessed evinces that he had not departed very far from the standards of the church. He received the friar as a spiritual comforter; and not suspecting treachery under the cloak of religion, he without hesitation answered the insidious questions which were put to

* Knox, Book i. p. 20. Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 270. Drummond of Hawthornden's History of the Five Jameses, p. 193. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix.

him ; acknowledging that he thought Hamilton was a good man, and that the points for which he suffered might be defended. The confessor, regardless of that honour which, in a mind even destitute of piety, would have shewn the obligation of secrecy, revealed what he had discovered ; and this treacherous evidence was held sufficient to establish the guilt of heresy.*

CHAP.
I.
1633.

But there was another circumstance which probably rendered the priesthood more disposed to adopt so strong a measure. There had been found, in the possession of Forrest, an English translation of the New Testament ; and such was at this time the state of the popish church, that it construed into a crime worthy of death, what the Great Author of Christianity had enforced as a duty.†

After it was resolved to condemn him, his judges consulted about the mode in which he should be punished. When they decided that he was to be burned alive, an attendant of the archbishop, whom our old historians have styled a simple man, but who, in this instance, certainly manifested more discernment than his intriguing master, advised them to burn the heretic in a low cellar, because the smoke of Patrick Hamilton had infected all upon whom it blew.‡

* Spottiswode, B. ii. p. 65. Keith, B. i. ch. 1. p. 8.

† Knox, Book i. p. 19.

‡ Spottiswoode. Keith, as above quoted. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. I.

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I.

1533.

When Forrest was leading forth to be executed; he complained with the utmost bitterness of the villany by which he had been circumvented. But the clergy heard with indifference his reproaches, considering every artifice as commendable by which they could strengthen their interest, and continue the degradation of mankind.*

The mind shrinks with horror from the barbarity of persecution, but it is not useless to contemplate its operation. The human character is thus indeed presented in a light in which it is painful to behold it; but we learn to value as we ought the inestimable blessing of religious liberty, while nothing can so effectually expose the folly of persecuting, as the decisive proof afforded by experience, how little it is adapted to secure the objects for the attainment of which it has been employed.

1534. This lesson, however, was not yet learnt in Scotland; for in the year which followed the death of Forrest, numbers were summoned to appear at Holyroodhouse, before the bishop of Ross, who sat as commissioner for the primate. The king attended several of the trials, shewing the most humane solicitude to prevail upon the accused to retract their opinions; and several yielded to his entreaties.† Norman Gourlay and David Straiton remained inflexible. They maintained their inno-

* Spottiswoode, Book ii. p. 65.

† Spottiswoode, Book ii. p. 65. Knox, Book i. p. 21. Keith, Book i. ch. 1. p. 8.

cence, or vindicated their principles, and sentence was pronounced against them. Gourlay was accused of having denied the existence of purgatory, and of having asserted that the pope had no jurisdiction in Scotland. Against Straiton no charge of heresy could be brought; but he was indicted because he had refused to pay tithes; an offence more enormous, in the estimation of those at whose bar he was placed, than the most erroneous speculative tenets. He denied that he had ever said that tithes were not due to churchmen; but he acknowledged that the tithe of some fishes which his servants had caught, having been very rigorously and harshly exacted, he had declared that if the collectors were so determined to have it, they should seek it where the stock had been found, and that he had ordered his people to cast every tenth fish into the sea. This justification did not soften the prejudices of his judges; and having been doomed to expiate at the stake this affront to the sacred order, he and Gourlay perished together.*

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I.
1534.

Many who had been summoned at this time did not appear. Shocked by the intolerance, which was so disgraceful to their country, several learned men fled into England, and thence carried to other nations the talents and the knowledge by which they would have delighted to benefit Scotland.†

* Knox, p. 20. Spottiswoode, p. 66. Buchanan, Lib. dec. quart. p. 275. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. I. under 1534. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Erskine of Dun, where an account is given of Straiton's conversion.

† Knox. Spottiswoode. Buchanan, as last quoted.

CHAP.

I.

1534.

The rapid progress of the new religion, in different parts of Europe, filled the pope with increasing alarm, and induced him to make every effort to establish the constancy of the sovereigns who adhered to him. In this or the preceding year, a nuncio had arrived in Scotland to animate James in the cause of the church, and to give steadiness to his exertions for the extirpation of heresy. Different presents, which had received the sacred benediction of the bishop of Rome, were given to the king; and to these were added the substantial grant of a tenth of all ecclesiastical benefices for three years. James was fully sensible of the value of this consideration. Accordingly, in a parliament which met the following year, he consented to the renewal of a statute against the doctrines of Luther, which, so early as the fifteen hundred and twenty-five, had, through the solicitude of the clergy, been enacted; a statute, subjecting to very severe civil deprivations those who despised excommunication, or refused to submit to it.*

1535.

But notwithstanding this display of royal zeal, persecution was happily suspended. Several years elapsed, during which no new victims were sacri-

1539.

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 416, 417. Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 273. Keith, B. i. ch. 1. ad finem, where the two acts are inserted. Acts of Parliament, collected by Sir Thomas Murray of Glendook. In this collection no notice is taken of the parliament which met in 1525, or of the act against Luther, but that there was a parliament in that year, Leslie testifies; and Keith, as I observed, has transcribed the act.

ficed; and it is candid to infer, that there existed somewhere a reluctance to those scenes of cruelty which had been so frequently exhibited.

CHAP.
I.
1539.

If such a reluctance did exist, it was at length overcome. A convocation of bishops met at Edinburgh. They took under their consideration the decaying influence of the church, and they perpetuated the memory of their assembly by the increased activity against heretics which they recommended and enforced.* Several unfortunate men were compelled to appear before them. Almost the whole of the number were priests, and their apostasy, as the bishops regarded it, could not fail to increase their danger. Keillor and Beveridge, friars; Sir Duncan Simpson, a regular clergyman, Robert Forrester a gentleman, and Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar, unable to vindicate themselves from the charges brought against them, were consumed in the same fire, on the castle-hill of Edinburgh.†

Forrest had, some time before this, been summoned by the bishop of Dunkeld, for preaching to his people every Sunday upon the gospel and the epistle of the day. The bishop, who seems to have been anxious to save the vicar, warned him that he would thus bring upon himself the suspicion of heresy; and the advice which he gave him, conjoined with the declaration accompanying it, presents a strange view of the state of some, even of the

* Spottiswoode, Book ii. p. 66. Keith, Book i. ch. 1. p. 9.

† Knox, p. 22. Spottiswoode, p. 66. Keith, Book i. ch. 1. p. 9.

CHAP. most dignified amongst the clergy : " If you can
 I
 1539. find a good gospel, or a good epistle which may
 support the holy church, you have my permission
 to preach upon it." Forrest replied, that he had
 read both the Old Testament and the New, and had
 never found in either of them an ill gospel, or an
 ill epistle. Upon this information, for it was plain-
 ly information to him, the prelate observed : " I
 thank God I have lived well these many years,
 and never knew either the Old or New Testament.
 I content myself with my portesse and pontifical ;
 and if you do not leave these fancies, you will re-
 pent when you cannot mend it." The prediction
 that Forrest would suffer was fulfilled ; but he had
 even then prepared himself for it ; for he concluded
 this singular conversation by saying, that he be-
 lieved it to be his duty to do what he did, and that
 he would shrink from no danger to which, in con-
 sequence of adhering to what was right, he might
 be exposed.*

Persecution
 extended to
 different
 parts of
 Scotland.

The doctrines of the reformation were not con-
 fined to one part of Scotland, they were embraced
 in every district of the country ; and it was thought
 expedient to make examples, in different places, of
 those most zealous in supporting innovation. Russel,
 a grey-friar, and Kennedy, an amiable and accom-
 plished youth, were accused of heresy at Glasgow ;
 but the chief advocates for severity apprehending

* Spottiswoode, Book ii. p. 66, 67.

that the archbishop did not entirely approve of it, dispatched, as his assessors, some of the most furious of the persecutors. The precaution was not unnecessary. The defence, or rather the reproach, of Russel, made a deep impression upon the mind of the prelate; he frankly declared that such executions as had of late taken place, would injure the cause which they were designed to promote; and had he been left to follow his own judgment, he would have gained immortal honour by acquitting the prisoners. His assistants, however, interfered. They had extinguished in their own breasts every feeling of mercy; and they threatened, that if the archbishop did not proceed to condemnation, they would represent him as an enemy to the church. He had not firmness to despise the threat; he sacrificed to love of ease, or of affluence, the imperious duty which he ought to have performed; and Russel, with his interesting companion, perished in the flames.*

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I.

1539.

Just sentiments of the archbishop of Glasgow.

Counteracted.

These violent proceedings filled with alarm the most distinguished of those who were attached to the new doctrines. Several of them withdrew from Scotland, others were banished, and some escaped from prison. Amongst this number was the celebrated Buchanan; a man, respecting whose political sentiments different opinions have been en-

Banishment and flight of many eminent men.

Buchanan.

* Knox, Book i. p. 22. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 67. Keith, B. i. ch. i. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Part 2d, B. iii. p. 174.

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I.

1539.

tertained, but whose profound understanding, elegant taste, and poetical genius, all who can appreciate them must regard with admiration and delight. His vigorous mind soon received a bias in favour of those tenets which were connected with the emancipation of mankind from prejudice and from spiritual oppression; and he rendered himself in a peculiar degree odious to the clergy. The Franciscans having, upon some occasion, irritated the king, he applied to Buchanan to write a satire against them. He had, at a previous period, amused himself in his unguarded moments in composing a poem which had highly offended them; and having had some reason to repent of his rashness, he reluctantly complied with the request of the sovereign. He lashed, with the most vigorous and sarcastic severity, the vices and the hypocrisy of the monks. In the fury of their resentment, they resolved to effectuate his destruction; and, notwithstanding the obligation under which James lay to protect him, he was committed to prison. Had the scheme of the Franciscans been carried into execution, the world would, in all probability, have been deprived of his inestimable works; but he fortunately eluded the vigilance of his keepers, and escaped into England.*

* Buchanan, Lib. xiv. *Buchanani Vita*, ab ipso scripta, prefixed to his History. Mackenzie's *Life of Buchanan*, in Vol. III. of his *Lives of the Writers of the Scottish Nation*, p. 158, 159. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 67. Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. I. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. P. 2. B. iii. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. 16, quarto, being a life of Buchanan.

The pressure of age had, for some time, indisposed the archbishop of St Andrews for exertion, and in the course of this year he closed his busy and turbulent life. His character has been delineated in different colours, by those who have transmitted it to posterity. By the writers attached to the popish communion, he has been honoured with applause; by the reformers, he is generally represented as having been actuated by the most savage and unprincipled cruelty; while some historians have palliated what the pen of enthusiastic friendship should not have attempted to commend. Engaged, for the greater part of his life, in the political contentions which agitated his country, he had paid little attention to religion, and had felt much indifference about the speculative opinions which men entertained respecting it. He supported the church as a pillar of the state, or as conferring the wealth and the honours by which he was distinguished; and he was thus led to sanction the cruelty which was exercised against the first supporters of the reformation.

CHAP.
I.

1539.

Death and
character of
James Bea-
ton, arch-
bishop of
St Andrews.

Although persecution should at all times be detested, yet when sincere, though mistaken sentiments of religion have led to its adoption, some allowance should be made for the infirmity of our nature. The archbishop cannot be exculpated upon this ground. Principle had, over his decisions, no influence; and it is impossible to acquit him of the heavy charge of having hypocritically

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I.

1539.

sacrificed, under pretence of regard to what he des-
pised, men who were guided by the conviction of
their understandings, and who obeyed the sugges-
tions of conscience.*

Succeeded
by Cardinal
Beaton.

Before his death he had nominated, as his suc-
cessor, his nephew David Beaton, who had been
created a cardinal; and the king, who was much
attached to the old man, confirmed the nomina-
tion.† Until the cardinal's accession to the pri-
macy, no steady plan against the enemies of the
church had been adopted. When their opinions
or their conduct attracted, in a peculiar degree, the
notice, or alarmed the fears of the clergy, the arm
of power was stretched out against them; but they
enjoyed, as we have found, considerable intervals
of tranquillity; and their absolute extermination
does not seem to have been considered as essential
to the welfare of the state, or the stability of the
established religion. But the new primate, possess-
ed of acute penetration, saw the danger to be much
more formidable than it had been imagined; and
he entered on the discharge of the duties of his high
office, under the conviction that, if the empire of
the pope was not universally acknowledged in Scot-
land, it would be subverted by the protestants, who
had combined for its destruction.

Organizes a
plan for the
steady per-
secution of
the heretics.

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 428, 429. Spottis-
woode, B. ii. p. 67. Holinshed's Chronicle, under reign of James V.,
and in Lives of Chancellors of Scotland. Crawford's Lives of the Offi-
cers of the Crown and State of Scotland, in Life of James Beaton.

† Leslie, Lib. B. p. 429. Spottiswoode, p. 67. Keith, p. 10.

But before entering into a particular examination of his conduct, and attempting to ascertain the origin and explain the nature of the measures to which he had recourse, it is necessary to point out in what manner different classes of the community were affected by the reformation, and to investigate both the causes which directed against it the decided influence of the sovereign, and those which counteracted this influence, so as not only to prevent, as in some other countries, the subversion of the protestant faith, but finally to procure for it a lasting establishment. For illustrating this interesting subject, we must look back, and record circumstances which, in specifying the examples of enmity to the innovators, it was useless to detail.

CHAP.

1539.

CHAPTER SECOND.

State of the public mind at Cardinal Beaton's accession to the primacy... King attached to the church; Causes of this... Reformation supported by the nobles... Promoted by Henry VIII... His first negotiations with James respecting religion... Zeal and diligence of the protestant teachers... Esteemed by the people... Account of the Cardinal; Principles upon which he determined to act... Persecution... Sir John Borthwick... Legislative measures against heretics... Henry again negotiates with James... Sadler... James refuses to hold an interview with Henry, and vigorously supports the Clergy... Sir James Hamilton... King becomes unhappy... War declared against him by Henry... His scheme of invading England defeated by the nobility... His disappointment and indignation... Zeal of the Clergy to promote his views... He collects a new army... Appoints an unpopular leader... Rout of Solway Moss... He resigns himself to melancholy... His death and character.

CHAP.
II.

1539.
State of the
public mind
at Beaton's
accession to
the primacy.

ALTHOUGH the popish religion was, in many respects, unfavourable to the prerogatives of kings, yet the length of time during which it had been embraced by mankind, created for it a reverence which was peculiarly felt by those who were interested in the preservation of order, and were thus

averse to changes, the effects of which it was difficult to foresee. When, therefore, Hamilton introduced into Scotland the doctrines which he had been taught in Germany, the king, unacquainted with their nature, was disposed to regard them as full of danger, and to lend his aid in protecting, from their operation, that church, the rights of which were interwoven with the laws and the constitution of his kingdom.

CHAP.
II.

1539.

King attached to the church.

Had this, however, been the only ground upon which he rested his opposition, a more thorough acquaintance with the protestant tenets might have induced him to withdraw it. But a variety of causes combined their efficacy in producing the steadiness with which he seconded the views, and guarded the privileges, of the priesthood.

Causes of this.

The kings of Scotland, although little controuled by their parliaments, which, from the peculiar construction of these assemblies, were generally completely under the direction of the crown, enjoyed a very limited authority.* The nature of the country, the extensive domains of the barons, the devotion with which their followers regarded them, and the spirit of independence which, in a barbarous age, is often produced and cherished, rendered the haughty nobles little solicitous about the favour, and little anxious to promote the cause of their sovereign. They readily, indeed, professed

* Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. I. Book i.

CHAP.

II.

1539.

their loyalty, and willingly performed the ceremonial homage that was required of them, but they were most jealous of the privileges which they had inherited from their fathers. When they considered these as infringed, they, without hesitation, prepared to defend them by the sword; and if the king was the aggressor, they felt no scruple in raising their standards in opposition to the royal banners. The misfortunes of the house of Stuart increased their arrogance and enlarged their ambition. Some of the most able and illustrious of this race of princes, who, deploring the prevalence of anarchy, and the wantonness of devastation, attempted to remedy them by depressing the barons, unfortunately fell a sacrifice to their patriotic resolutions; and long continued minorities, in uninterrupted succession, weakened the sceptre, which a vigorous hand alone could have successfully wielded.*

James V., who understood the principles of government, and had the most earnest desire to communicate to his subjects the blessings which result from it, did not abandon the scheme of his most enlightened predecessors. The rigorous bondage which the earl of Angus so long imposed on him, increased his antipathy to aristocratical influence; and he no sooner had emancipated himself from it,

* Leslie. Buchanan, under the different reigns of the Stuart family. Holinshed, in his Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 343, of the edition in my possession, has collected the reigns and the minorities of the different princes of the house of Stuart.

than he attempted to divide his nobles. He executed, with the utmost steadiness, the laws, which they had been accustomed to despise or to disregard; and he treated them with a contempt to which their proud spirits disdainfully submitted.*

CHAP.
II.
1539.

To strengthen his efforts, he conciliated the other classes of the community. He ingratiated himself with the people, by listening to their complaints, and by shewing the most humane attention to their wants; and he attached to his interest the clergy, the most wealthy and the most powerful order of the state. He selected from them his confidential servants, conferred upon them the highest offices, and committed to their management the most important and delicate negotiations. They were, indeed, best qualified to assist him, and to benefit their country. Ignorant and indifferent about religion as too many of them were, and much cause as there was to lament the want of literature and of science, which was conspicuous in them as a body; there were amongst them some men of genius, and of considerable political talents: while the nobility, occupied with their feuds, or elated with their hereditary dignity, despised knowledge, and all who attempted to acquire it. A penetrating and intelligent observer, who had no partiality for the sacred order, but who had been harshly treated by

* Lealie, Lib. ix. p. 438. Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 280. Drummond, p. 229. Keith, B. i. ch. i. p. 17.

CHAP. them, and had complained of the treatment, thus
 11. speaks of them about this period: "To be plain
 1540. with you, although the noblemen be well minded, yet I see none amongst them that hath any such agility of wit, gravity, learning, or experience, to take in hand the direction of things; so the king, as far as I can perceive, is of force driven to use the bishops and his clergy as his only ministers for the direction of his realm; they be the only men of wit and policy that I see here."*

Thus convinced of the ability of the clergy to discharge the arduous duties of political administration, and thus disposed to conjoin his interest with theirs, when they complained to the king that opinions were avowed and inculcated, which tended to wrest from them their wealth, their rank, their estimation, and their influence—prudence led him, in compliance with their request, to discountenance these opinions. He saw that their success would produce a revolution, highly favourable to those whom he wished to depress, and would deprive him of the most powerful instrument by which he endeavoured to give stability to his throne.

His determination in favour of the clergy was

* Sadler's Letters. The above extract is contained in a letter, addressed by Sir Ralph Sadler to one of the privy-council in England, which he wrote during his first embassy to Scotland, and is to be found at p. 56 of a manuscript copy of his instructions, and of his letters during his two embassies, with which I have been favoured from the University Library of St Andrews, and to which I uniformly refer, when quoting Sadler.

strengthened by his connexions with foreign powers. The contiguity of England and Scotland, far from pointing out the importance of union, and from producing cordiality between sovereigns, who might thus have been secured against aggression, excited, from a very remote period, the most violent prejudices, and even gave occasion to rooted national antipathy. The English monarchs, harassed by the depredations of their northern neighbours, improved every opportunity of weakening them by intestine commotions; and taking advantage of favourable combinations of circumstances, they even claimed to be the lords of Scotland, and insisted upon the Scottish kings doing homage to them for their crown.*

CHAP.
II.
1640.

These lofty pretensions completely alienated the confidence which a wise and liberal policy might have inspired, and were considered, not without reason, as indicating the most hostile views. As the population and physical strength of Scotland prevented that country from contending upon equal terms with England, the Scottish sovereigns early formed an alliance with France, and often derived from that powerful nation effectual support. France assiduously cultivated a connexion, through which she was at all times enabled to distract the attention, and to divide the forces of England; and the

* See our Scottish historians, particularly Holinshed's Chronicle.

CHAP. union thus cemented, was, for many years, religi-
 II. ously preserved.*

1540.

James, who was fully sensible of the insidious manner in which his uncle Henry the eighth had acted towards him during his long minority, and who still entertained many suspicions of his intentions, was desirous to renew the league with the French monarch; and the subsequent events of his reign confirmed his resolution to secure the cordial friendship of that accomplished prince.† Francis, upon the first diffusion of the new principles of religion, hesitated whether he should embrace them. But the intrigues of the pope, Clement VII., who held an interview with him, and confirmed their alliance by marrying his niece, the celebrated, or the infamous Catharine of Medicis, to the second son of the French monarch, decided his sentiments in favour of the ancient faith; and from that period he gave to it the most zealous support.‡ James could thus expect the continuance of the French alliance only by remaining hostile to the reformation; and his

* Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, Vol. I. Lealie, *de Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, Lib. vi. vii. viii. &c. Buchanan, Lib. v. viii. x. &c. Preface to Anderson's *Collection of Diplomas and Coins*, p. 4. Acts of Parliament; 3d par. of James IV., act entitled, The alliance and confederation of France to be confirmed.

† Buchanan, Lib. dec. quartus. Rapin, Vol. II. Hume's *History of England*, reign of Henry VIII.

‡ Father Paul's *History of the Council of Trent*, B. i. p. 109, 110. Mosheim, Vol. III. p. 351. Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II.

eagerness to provide a powerful ally combined with his views of internal national advantage in leading him to defend the church. CHAP.
II.
1540.

But more tender ties soon united him to the French sovereign. Impressed with the duty and importance of entering into the married state, James went to France to choose a queen; and having been fascinated with the amiable manners and graceful accomplishments of Magdalen, the eldest daughter of Francis, he solicited her hand. Her father readily consented to the marriage. One circumstance only he urged to prevent it; the princess had lost the vigour of health, and the ravages of a fatal disease threatened even her speedy dissolution. James was not deterred by the representation of this which Francis esteemed it right to make to him, and the marriage was solemnized on the first of January, with a magnificence suited to the high rank of the illustrious parties.*

Upon her arrival in Scotland, the most noble families hastened to receive her. Her numberless virtues conciliated the affections of the people, and their feelings of reverence, of love, and of esteem, acquired strength from the melancholy apprehension with which the indulgence of them was attended. She did not long survive her union with James; for

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 423. Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 276. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 187, 188. Lindsay of Pittscottie, from p. 157. Drummond's History of the Five Jameses, p. 206.

CHAP. in the course of the year, she fell a sacrifice to the
 II. complaints with which she had long been afflicted.

1687.

All classes of subjects mourned over her death; and from respect to her memory, the peculiar garb of sorrow was, for the first time, assumed in Scotland.*

The clergy alone did not, perhaps, so feelingly participate in the general lamentation. Magdalen had been educated under the inspection of her aunt, the queen of Navarre; and from this they dreaded that she had imbibed the partiality for the new opinions, which the house of Navarre decidedly shewed.† Whatever might have been her views in this respect, her death rather increased the king's attachment to France, and he resolved to form in that kingdom a new matrimonial alliance.

1698. He fixed his affections upon Mary, a princess of the family of Guise, widow of the duke of Longueville; and Cardinal Beaton, with Robert Maxwell, was sent to negotiate the marriage. Of this princess much will be said in the course of the ensuing history. It is sufficient here to observe, that she inherited the attachment to the popish religion which distinguished her family, and that the powerful influence which, through her talents and her beauty, she established over the mind of her husband, was employed in encouraging him to persevere in his

* Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 424, 425. Buchanan, p. 276. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 188. Drummond, p. 206.

† Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 276. Buchanani Vita, prefixed to his works, p. 5. Mackenzie's Lives, Vol. III. p. 158.

support of the clergy, and in his severity to those whom they proscribed.*

CHAP.
II.

1538.

These causes, combined with that regard for the established religion which, from his education, he probably entertained, sufficiently account for the part which James acted, and for his considering it as his interest, no less than his duty, to protect the church.

When the zeal of the clergy was thus strenuously assisted by the authority of the monarch, we may be astonished that the reformation was not, at its introduction, suppressed; and that James was unable, as Francis had done in his dominions, and Henry in England, to give to the sentiments of his people that direction which he wished them to assume. There happily were circumstances which warded off from Scotland an evil so much to be apprehended and which were sufficient at first to counteract, and finally to defeat the schemes of the king and the priesthood.

Although, when the protestant doctrines were announced, the nobility could not speculate upon their tendency, or form conjectures respecting the important revolution which they might occasion, it must have been evident that these doctrines were most offensive to their spiritual rivals; and the barons must, on this account alone, have been generally disposed to tolerate or to countenance them.

Reforma-
tion sup-
ported by
the nobles.

* Leslie, B. ix. Buch. Lib. xlv. Drummond's Life of James the Fifth.

CHAP.

II.

1538.

Their views, with regard to them, were soon enlarged by the preaching of those who had embraced them; they were led to perceive that the new faith struck at the very foundation upon which the power of the clergy rested, and that the universal reception of this faith would not only wrest from the church the immense wealth which she possessed, but might afford themselves an opportunity of appropriating a large proportion of that wealth. Although, therefore, some of the most ancient and most distinguished noble families adhered to the old religion, the great majority of the nobility were partial to the reformers, and gave a facility to the diffusion of their principles, which, had the aristocracy been decidedly hostile, would not have existed.*

Promoted
by Henry
VIII.

The events which, about this period, happened in England, strengthened the zeal of the Scottish reformers, and afforded to their cause essential support.

Henry VIII., one of the most capricious and sanguinary tyrants who disgrace our history, at his accession to the throne, and for many years after, was devoted to the see of Rome. With a self-denial, to which his unruly and impetuous passions were little habituated, he submitted to many of the usurpations of papal ambition. Attached to the scholastic sophistry which then prevailed, and anxious to acquire for himself the reputation of literary emi-

* Sadler's Letter to a Privy-Counsellor. Ann. 1540.

nence, he entered the lists with Luther ; attacked his tenets ; obtained the unbounded applause which servility would have paid to any royal production ; and was confirmed in his reverence for the pope, by receiving from him the flattering title of Defender of the Faith.*

But notwithstanding all this, there arose a cause of dissension, which alienated him from the successor of St Peter, and in the end induced him to shake off his allegiance to Rome.

At an early period of his life, he had been contracted to Catharine of Arragon, the widow of Arthur, his elder brother, who died before he had completed his sixteenth year. It is alleged, that Henry felt much reluctance to form this connexion ; and that when he at length complied with his father's wishes, he soothed his own conscience, by making a protestation against the match. As the pope, of whose infallibility he, for a long period after his marriage, entertained no doubt, had sanctioned the union by a full and explicit dispensation, it is difficult to conceive that the protestation could have originated from any moral scruples ; and the fact is, that four years after he protested, he solemnly married the princess. He continued to live with her for many years ; and the time which

1508.

1509.

* Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, Vol. i. p. 31. Roscoe's Life of Leo X., Vol. IV. p. 41-43.

CHAP.

II.

1509.

he chose for laying before the world the uneasiness which he at length avowed that he felt, was not favourable for impressing conviction of his sincerity; for he soon after professed his ardent attachment to Anne Boleyn, his future amiable and unfortunate queen, and made it too strikingly apparent, that the violence of passion at least conspired with his love of virtue, in giving rise to the severity with which he proceeded against Catharine.

Leaving, however, this point to be settled by the historians of his reign, the only mode which suggested itself for accomplishing his schemes, was, to apply to the pope for a divorce. The pontiff would, in all probability, have, without hesitation, sacrificed the innocent queen, and reversed the decision of his predecessor, had not the terror of offending the emperor, the nephew of Catharine, and the most powerful sovereign of the age, checked his precipitancy. But although he could not at once comply with the wishes of Henry, he did not assume the merit of deciding against them. He amused the monarch by various proposals, under pretence of facilitating the separation, though really to defer it, till his impatient spirit was irritated, and he formed the astonishing resolution of disclaiming all reverence for the papal crown. He accordingly abolished the jurisdiction of the pope in England, prevailed on his parliament to bestow upon himself ecclesiastical supremacy, and even compelled the

greater part of the clergy to acknowledge him as the head of the church.*

CHAP.
II.

1503.

So strong a measure could not fail to be disapproved by many of his subjects. He apprehended that it might give rise to sedition; and dreading the intrigues of foreign princes, who might foment such domestic dissensions, he felt great anxiety to secure himself on the side of Scotland, and even to induce James to adopt the same conduct. For this purpose he dispatched into Scotland Barlow, bishop-elect of St David's, with some books, which, he hoped, might make an impression upon his nephew, while he gave his ambassador secret instructions, the object of which probably was, to prevail with the Scottish monarch to hold a conference with his uncle.† James, not disposed to engage in religious controversy, delivered the books to some of his courtiers, who were attached to the church. They reported to him that the books were replete with the most detestable heresies, and they congratulated him, that he had escaped from the contamination and pollution of perusing them.‡

1535.

* The reader may consult, upon this subject, any of the histories of England, but particularly Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. compared with Collier's account of the corresponding period in Vol. II. Rapin, Vol. I. Acta Regia, Vol. III. Leslie, Lib. ix. Drummond.

† Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 275. Spottiswoode, Book ii. p. 70. Keith, Book i. ch. ii. p. 18.

‡ Buchanan, Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Keith, p. 18, compared with note b. to that page.

CHAP.

II.

1535.

No satisfactory answer, respecting any proposal for an interview, was given to this ambassador, who complained of his reception, and lamented the influence which the clergy had acquired in the Scottish court.* Henry, who was not easily repulsed, and who did not pay much attention to delicacy in his negotiations, soon after sent Lord William Howard to Scotland, though connected with a family odious to James, and instructed him to make a specific proposition that the two kings should meet at York, for the purpose of conversing upon subjects of infinite consequence to both their kingdoms. To render James more disposed to comply with the request, Howard was authorized to flatter him with the prospect of obtaining, in marriage, the princess Mary, Henry's daughter, and of succeeding to the English crown. A positive promise was also made, that if the views of the two sovereigns coincided, Henry would immediately create the King of Scotland Duke of York, and appoint him lord-lieutenant of England.†

The splendid promise naturally made upon the youthful mind of James the deepest impression, and at first produced an inclination to meet with

* Pinkerton's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 327, 328.

† Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 275. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 147, 148. Drummond's History of James V. p. 202. Keith, Book i. ch. ii. p. 18. Spottiswoode, Book ii. p. 70. Pinkerton, Vol. II. p. 239, insinuates that these high proposals were not made to James, but he gives no evidence to discredit the authority of Buchanan, and of other historians.

Henry. He soon, however, changed his resolution. The family of Hamilton, who were the apparent heirs of his crown, were eager to prevent a marriage which might disappoint their hopes, while the clergy were apprehensive that Henry would prevail upon his nephew to introduce into Scotland a reformation, or revolution, similar to that which had commenced in England. The reasons which they urged against the interview possessed great weight, and it is perhaps uncharitably considering them as capable of being actuated only by mercenary motives, not to attribute, in some degree at least, to genuine patriotism, the advice which they gave to their sovereign. They called to his recollection many events in the history of his ancestors, which exhibited the perfidy of England, and the misery which had resulted from the confidence reposed in her; they dwelt particularly upon the fate of James I., who having been, during a season of peace, accidentally driven upon her shores, was, in violation of every dictate of honour, long detained in captivity; and they strongly represented all this as justifying caution, and as rendering some suspicion of the designs of the English monarch a duty, which James owed equally to himself and to his people. The arguments, or the influence, of the church prevailed. After some evasive proposals, which Howard received with a rudeness and a violence not calculated to promote the designs of his master, the king of Scotland declined the interview,

CHAP.

II.

1535.

CHAP.

II.

1535.

and the English ambassador hastened to Henry, to make a report, dictated rather by passion, than by a strict regard to that accurate veracity which he should have religiously observed.*

But although the arguments used by Howard thus failed in deciding the king to comply with Henry, their force was discerned by many of the most considerable of the Scottish nobility, who had declared their anxiety that the conference should take place. They perceived that the reformation was now connected with the countenance of a monarch who could extend to it, and to those who professed it, his powerful protection; and its progress was, in their estimation, conjoined with the accomplishment of that union with England, which numbers even then were convinced, would most effectually secure the peace, the good government, and the prosperity of Scotland. This party in the interest of England, or rather, which regarded the interest of the two British nations as the same, will be discovered gradually acquiring strength; and

* Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 275, 276. Drummond's Hist. of James V. p. 203. Keith, B. i. ch. 2. Sadler's letter to Henry, giving an account of his conversation with James upon this subject. Pinkerton, B. xiv. Burnet's History, Vol. I. B. iii. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 71, who confounds this with a subsequent embassy to James. Holinshed, who is generally very accurate, has committed here a great mistake. He records this embassy under the year 1541, and mentions that James Beaton, archbishop of St Andrews, had been active in dissuading the king from the interview, although this prelate, as Holinshed himself had stated a little before, died 1539. I shall again have occasion to advert to confusion and inaccuracy respecting the embassies from England.

thus early it was able to promote, in some degree, the important changes which it steadily contemplated.*

CHAP.
II.
1535.

The increased earnestness of those who composed it to accelerate the reformation, displayed itself in the protection which they extended to its teachers. These teachers, unlike the established clergy, mingled with the people; they embraced every opportunity of instructing them, and they heightened the contempt and the aversion at the priesthood, which the injudicious and culpable conduct of that order had very extensively created. They flattered also that self-importance which influences, in a greater or less degree, every intelligent being, by appealing to the understandings of those who heard them, by quoting the Scriptures, and by inculcating the right of private judgment,—the exercise of which was incompatible with the continuance of that blind submission, so long represented as the duty of laymen to their spiritual guides.†

The eagerness with which the multitudes listened to these preachers was very striking. They were

Esteemed
by the people.

* See Sadler's *Letters*, *passim*, and a controversial work, displaying considerable attachment to a party, but great ability, entitled *Fundamental Charter of Presbytery* considered and disproved, written by Dr Sale, who was a non-juring Scottish bishop.

† These facts are established by the general representations of the ministry of the reformers, and the effects resulting from it, in Knox, B. i. See also Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation in England*, Vol. i. Rowe's *MS. Hist. of the Estate of the Kirk*, p. 4, 5. of the copy in the Library of the Writers to the Signet.

CHAP.

II.

1535

constantly surrounded by numbers, thirsting after instruction; and who, in the imperfect state of government which then existed, entertained no fear that conversion would be attended with consequences fatal to their tranquillity. Under the eye and the patronage of their own chieftains, they could remain in security; and if they did not attract public notice, by taking an active and open part in spreading the knowledge of scripture, they were left, without molestation, to prosecute and to increase that knowledge. The consequence was, that at a very early period, the great mass of the community in Scotland were disposed to embrace the protestant faith, and to submit to such a form of ecclesiastical discipline and government as their pastors might afterwards frame.*

1539.
Account of
Cardinal
Beaton.

Such was the state of Scotland, in respect of religion, when David Beaton was confirmed as primate of the kingdom. His exaltation to that dignified situation inspired the clergy with the most sanguine hopes that the evils which they lamented, and which had gradually become more formidable, would be lessened or removed. Born of a respectable family, and educated under the immediate inspection, or according to the directions of his uncle, the profound talents which he possessed had been assiduously cultivated, and he was soon placed where

* For the progress of the protestant faith, see Knox, B. i. *passim*. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 69. Calderwood's true History of the Church of Scotland, p. 2, and MSS. Vol. I. under 1539. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. I. folio, under Life of Erskine of Dun, p. 3, 4.

these talents were called into exercise. He had early insinuated himself into the confidence, and acquired the esteem of the king ; had frequently been employed in embassies and negotiations, the issue of which affected the happiness of the monarch, and the security of the country ; and in all of them he had displayed a degree of prudence and dexterity, which had justly raised him very high in the public estimation. This respect was not diminished by the promotions and the honours with which he was rewarded. The king of France, either from personal regard, or from the desire of gratifying James by distinguishing an ambassador so much devoted to the interest of his master, conferred on him the bishopric of Mauripoix ; and the following year brought him the highest dignity which the pope could bestow, Paul III. having sent to him a cardinal's hat.

CHAP.
II.
1539.

1537.

Thus eminent, from the depth of his understanding, and from the rank which he possessed, he became archbishop of St Andrews ; and, to complete his ecclesiastical power, he was, some time afterwards, made legate *à latere*, which gave him peculiar privileges, and was the most decisive testimony of the regard in which he was held by the bishop of Rome.*

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 429. Mackenzie's Life of Cardinal Beaton, in Vol. III. of his Lives. Do. in Crawford's Lives and Characters of Officers of State and Crown in Scotland, published at Edinburgh, 1726, p. 77, 78. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 453.

CHAP.

II.

1539.
Principle
upon which
he deter-
mined to
act.
Persecution.

He resolved to distinguish the commencement of his primacy by shewing his zeal in support of the church ; and after considering in what mode this would be most effectually done, he determined in favour of a more vigorous and unrelenting persecution of her enemies. When we reflect upon his abilities, upon his knowledge of the world, and upon his acquaintance with human nature, it must appear astonishing that he did not see the folly of this determination. The influence which the general habits and sentiments of the age in which he lived could not fail to exert, even over his strong mind, in part accounts for it, but we must chiefly attribute it to his own feelings and character.

Loose, or even dissolute in his morals, careless about religion, except in so far as it was a source of wealth, or an instrument of policy, and valuing no set of opinions but in the degree in which they were subservient to interest and ambition, he did not doubt that others entertained these views ; and that the same motives, which he was conscious would have directed himself, would direct them ; and that the hope of advancement, or the fear of punishment, would induce them to renounce what he could not conceive it possible that any prudent man would, for a moment, put in competition with present ease or future promotion. In short, he considered heresy as a criminal act, from which the severity of law might deter—not as a state of mind, or as a conscientious persuasion, which violence might lead men

to conceal, but which nothing but reason could change, or the most humane indulgence and toleration render harmless.

CHAP.

II:

1539:

Under this erroneous impression he regulated his procedure. He had not long received his appointment as archbishop before he began to act; and as he knew the secret inclinations of a great part of the nobility, he wished that the most distinguished of that order should be present when he detailed the scheme which he had maturely formed. He accordingly came to St Andrews, accompanied by the Earls of Huntly, Arran, Marishal, and Montrose, with several of the inferior barons; and he was also attended by a large concourse of the most dignified and learned of the clergy. Having, with this procession, entered the cathedral, he ascended to an exalted seat which had been prepared for him, and from it delivered a long and fervent discourse upon the horrors to be apprehended from the prevalence of heretical opinions. He endeavoured to excite in his audience the most ardent zeal for the church; lamented the increase of her enemies, and the encouragement which they derived from the apostacy of the English monarch; reprobated the boldness with which they circulated their tenets, and bewailed, that even in the court itself, too much countenance was given to them.

1540:

After this glowing representation of the magnitude of the danger, he inculcated the importance, and

CHAP.
II.
1540.

Sir John
Borthwick.

the necessity of immediate and decisive measures to avert it; and that he might at once shew the nature of the doctrines against which he had declaimed, and the remedy which he intended to apply, he informed his hearers that he had cited Sir John Borthwick to appear before them; a man who had been most diligent in spreading heretical books, and in maintaining tenets subversive of the true faith, and of the existence of the holy church.*

The accusation which he preferred against Borthwick will shew the sentiments which the most enlightened protestants in Scotland at this time entertained. He was charged by the cardinal with having taught, that the pope had no greater authority over Christians than any other bishop; that indulgences and pardons granted by the pope were of no force or effect, but were devised to abuse the people, and to deceive poor ignorant souls; that bishops, priests, and other clergymen, may lawfully marry; that the heresies, commonly called the heresies of England, and the new liturgy, were commendable, and to be embraced of all Christians; that the people of Scotland are blinded by their clergy, and professed not the true faith; that churchmen ought not to enjoy any temporalities; that the king ought to convert the rents of the

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 69, 70. Leslie, *de Rebus Gestis Scottorum*, Lib. ix. p. 490. Keith's History, B. i. ch. i. p. 10. Mackenzie's *Life of Beaton*, in Vol. III. of his *Lives*, p. 19, 20. Crawford's *Lives of Officers of State and of the Crown*, p. 79.

church to other purposes ; that the church of Scotland ought to be governed after the manner of the English ; that the canons and decrees of the church were of no force, being contrary to the law of God ; and that the orders of friars and monks should be abolished, as had been done in England. To these charges it was added, that he had called the pope simoniacal, for selling spiritual things ; that he read heretical books, and the New Testament in English, with some other treatises written by Melancthon, Ecolompadius, and Erasmus, which he also gave to others ; and, what completed the aggravation of his guilt, that he refused to acknowledge the holy see, or to be subject to it.*

CHAP.
II.
1540.

This accusation shews the progress which had been made, towards the completion of the protestant system, during the thirteen years which had elapsed from the death of Hamilton. He attacked chiefly the doctrinal tenets of the Romish church ; at least he professed to have settled his opinions only upon these ; in his defence, he admitted that what he had advanced against purgatory, penance, and the authority of the pope, was regarded by him more as what might be debated, than what should be held as established. But by the time of Borthwick's trial, all uncertainty and diffidence respecting papal

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 70. Keith, as above quoted, and Appendix to Book i. of his History, No. 4. where the whole proceedings are transcribed from Fox's Martyrology. Mackenzie and Crawford, as last quoted.

CHAP.
II.

1540.

usurpation, and the artifices which supported it, were removed. The discoveries of Luther had rapidly circulated amongst those who approved his innovations; and, separated from the church, they directed their chief efforts against the corrupt practices which they deemed it essential to extirpate. Yet we must receive with caution the representation given by the enemies of Borthwick. He is stated as having held tenets respecting the poverty of the clergy, which, in a defence written by himself, he disavowed; tenets, which were introduced or exaggerated by the cardinal, that he might make a deeper impression on the priesthood, and stimulate them to the activity which he was eager to excite.*

Happily for himself, Borthwick had received intimation of the design which the cardinal had formed against him; and fully convinced that no defence which he could make would be sufficient to ward off the sentence already determined, he fled to England. He was kindly received by Henry, who afterwards employed him in negotiating an alliance with the protestant princes of Germany.†

Beaton having concluded his oration by imploring the assembly which he addressed to concur with him in executing justice against Borthwick, he

* Mackenzie's *Life of Beaton*, in Vol. III. of his *Lives*, p. 21. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*, Vol. II. Part 2d, Book iii. p. 174.

† Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 70. Keith, B. i. ch. 1. p. 10. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. p. 174.

was summoned ; but neither appearing in person nor by a commissioner, he was at once condemned as a heretic, and ordered to be delivered to the secular power. All his goods were confiscated ; and with contemptible and unavailing vengeance, and in direct opposition to the humane spirit of that holy faith which the cardinal, in the sentence, professed to have set before his eyes, it was decreed that a picture, or effigy, of Borthwick should be prepared, and, after having been carried through the city, should in token of malediction and curse, as a terror to others, and a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation, be burned at the market-cross. Nor did the inveteracy of the archbishop stop even here. He declared, that if Borthwick should ever be apprehended, the dreadful punishment which had been represented would be actually inflicted ; and all were prohibited from receiving him, or from performing to him any office of humanity, under pain of forfeiting their estates, of excommunication, and of such other punishment as their abetting of heresy might render it proper to adjudge.*

CHAP.
II.
1540.

But Beaton did not rest his hopes of succeeding in the extirpation of heresy solely upon the vigour of ecclesiastical judicatories. He wished to have it declared a civil offence, and to direct against it the voice

1541.
Legislative
measures
against
heresy.

* Spottiswoode's History, B. ii. p. 70. Keith, Appendix to B. i. of his History, No. 4. containing the sentence against Borthwick. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 430.

CHAP. of parliament, that the whole odium of resisting it
 11. might not be laid upon the clergy. For this pur-
 1541. pose he procured, in a parliament that met about
 the commencement of the following year, the adop-
 tion of several strong acts, which were publicly
 notified throughout the kingdom. By these, con-
 fiscation of goods was to be incurred by all who
 expressed any doubt with regard to the jurisdiction
 of the pope; assemblies for inquiring into the scrip-
 tures were interdicted, none being allowed to give
 their judgment upon them but those who were
 lawfully called to do so; the harbouring or con-
 cealing of heretics was proscribed; rewards were
 offered to every one who informed against them;
 and all were prohibited from making any sollicita-
 tion in their favour, or from giving them the relief
 which every human being in distress might expect
 from his fellow creatures.*

The acts indeed display, throughout, that spirit of inhumanity which is the essence of persecution. The distressing effects of them were not confined to those against whom they were professedly directed, but they were so framed as to put it in the power of the church to sacrifice any individual who incurred its displeasure. They subjected to the most cruel tyranny even those who had no intention of assailing the established religion, but who could not so far divest themselves of the feelings of

* Keith, B. i. ch. i. *ad finem*, from the unprinted acts of the 7th parliament of James V., held in March 1541.

mercy, as to contribute to the wretchedness of such as they had loved and esteemed, merely because errors in faith had excluded them from the protection of government.

CHAP.
II.

1541.

There is, however, one act of this parliament which deserves to be particularly mentioned, because it not only affords the most satisfactory evidence of the corruption of the clergy, but confirms the declaration which the king had, upon one occasion, fervently made; that, although he adhered to the old religion, he would reform its ministers.* The act is entitled, An act for reforming kirks and kirkmen. It states, in the preamble, that the negligence of divine service, and the corruption and misrule of kirkmen, both in respect of wit, knowledge, and manners, were the causes, "why kirks and kirkmen were disregarded and despised." It then enumerates remedies, which, had they been steadily applied, would certainly have materially diminished the licentiousness and religious indifference which were so much to be deplored.†

Amidst the zeal and activity of the cardinal, the protestant party derived some encouragement from the state of England, and from the negotiation

1540.

Henry
again nego-
tiates with
James.

* Sadler's letter to Henry, giving an account of his conversations with James.

† Keith, as last quoted. The remedies proposed by the act were the reformation of the clergy in habit and manners to God and man, by the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, and the reparation of churches, so that divine worship, which seems to have been much neglected, might be regularly performed.

CHAP. which the English sovereign renewed with the Sco-
 II. tish monarch.

1540.

When Henry had succeeded in shaking off the papal yoke, he beheld, with avidity, the treasures which belonged to the monasteries in his kingdom; and he reverted to a scheme of suppressing them, which had probably been first suggested to him by Wolsey, who was anxious to employ their revenues in encouraging literature, and endowing seminaries in which it might be taught. The king, standing in need of supplies, and intending to establish some new bishopricks, resolved now to adopt the plan; partly impelled to it by the opposition which some of the monks had made to his measures of reformation, and by the reproaches which they had not hesitated to direct against him.* He accordingly, some years before Beaton's accession to the primacy of Scotland, proposed the measure to his council; but they, apprehensive of the consequences, recommended, as a preparatory step, that a visitation of these religious foundations should be ordered, and strictly carried into execution.

1586.

The reports of the commissioners, whom Cromwell, who had been constituted by Henry vicar general, employed to make the visitation, exhibit a most revolting picture of depravity. These commissioners found, as they declared, not only the prevalence of

* Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, where he treats of the suppression of the monasteries. Rapin, Vol. I. fol. edition. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 104, &c. Neal's History of the Puritans, Toulmin's edition, printed at Bath, 1793, Vol. I. p. 17, &c.

total disregard to the rules which should have been observed, but the disguised practice of the most abominable vices that disgrace human nature. Their reports were published, and diligently circulated, for the purpose of reconciling the nation to the strong measures which were to be founded upon them.

CHAP.
II.

1536.

From the nature of monastic institutions there arises temptation, which it cannot be conceived would be uniformly resisted ; and the ample revenues, possessed by the monks in England, placing luxurious indulgence within their reach, had unquestionably debased their morals, and introduced a great degree of licentiousness. He would, however, be credulous indeed, who reposed implicit confidence in these accusations. The visitors knew that the more that they blackened the representation, the more acceptable it would be rendered ; and they were guilty of exaggerations so apparent, or which were afterwards so clearly detected, that the whole of what they attested is involved in suspicion. Many of the crimes with which they charged the monks were proved never to have existed ; and there were stated, on the other hand, such instances of the violence, the rapacity, and the avarice of these ministers of Cromwell, as cannot fail to leave an impression, that they were not the persons who should have been selected for executing any commission, connected with the advancement of religion and virtue.

CHAP.
II.

1536.

Several of the abbots, aware of the designs of Henry, and believing that the surest way to obtain decent support, was to comply with them, gave in formal surrenders; others were forced to imitate this example, and before the termination of the year, in which Beaton obtained the episcopal chair of St Andrews, the work of demolition was completed.*

Such a shock to the religious prepossessions of his people, could not be given, even by Henry; absolute as he was, without creating discontent. Combinations were formed in different parts of his kingdom, in defence of the monks; and rebellion burst forth, with an aspect so formidable, as to agitate and alarm the king. In Lincolnshire, and still more in Yorkshire, he found it necessary to make the most vigorous exertions; and in the latter county, the rebels were rather entrapped by policy, than repressed by force.†

Although the final issue of these commotions, which the suppression of the lesser monasteries had excited, rather increased the authority and aggravated the tyranny of Henry, he had too much penetration not to discern, that, had they been

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. compared with Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. from p. 104, in Book ii. and Book iii. Rapin's History of Henry VIII. Hume's do. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 17.

† Stowe's Annals of the Reign of Henry. Rapin and Hume, under that king's reign. Collier, Vol. II. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I.

powerfully assisted by his foreign enemies, or even fomented by the king of Scotland, they might have overturned his throne, or transferred the crown to his nephew. His union with France, at the period of the insurrections, and the influence of Francis over James, had prevented what would have been so hazardous ; but as his good understanding with the French king was at an end before the suppression of the larger monasteries, he saw how much he was interested in securing the neutrality, or the friendship, of the Scottish monarch. He therefore, notwithstanding his former disappointment, dispatched Sir Ralph Sadler, one of the ablest of his negotiators, to solicit, anew, a meeting with James, and to use every effort to prevent its being again deferred. In this he was confirmed by another powerful reason. Two interviews had taken place between the emperor and the king of France ; the enmity of these rival sovereigns seemed to be extinguished ; and Charles, highly gratified by the unreserved cordiality with which Francis had received him at Paris, had promised to restore the duchy of Milan, the favourite object of the French king's ambition.*

CHAP
11.

1836.

1540.

Sadler.

Henry perceived the dangerous situation in which he would be placed, if a league, sanctioned by the

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 431. Rapin, Vol. I. Acta Regia, or an account of the treaties, &c. in Rymer's Fœdera, published by Rapin, Vol. III. p. 313. Keith's History, B. i. ch. 2.

CHAP.
II.

1540.

pope, were formed against him. He was sensible that James would be invited, and would be strongly urged to join in it; and he was well aware, that if he could not counteract their force, many reasons would induce that prince to unite himself with the catholic sovereigns.*

* About the embassy of Sadler to Scotland, in the beginning of 1540, there is no doubt; for his instructions, his negotiations, and his correspondence in consequence of them, are before the public. But Mr Pinkerton (*History of Scotland*, Vol. II.) is of opinion, that Sadler was again sent to James in the following year, to propose the interview at York; and that it was on account of the breach of a promise given at that time, that Henry made war upon his nephew. Mr Pinkerton mentions his having seen, in the Cotton Library, Caligula, B. i. the instructions which were given to Sadler—instructions quite different from those of 1540. The existence of these instructions, seen by Mr Pinkerton, proves that there had been an intention to dispatch Sadler a second time to James, but it does not appear to me that there is sufficient evidence of his having been actually sent. There is, in as far as I know, no trace of any correspondence between him and the king or council at this time, or any account of what he did; and it is difficult to conceive why these should not have appeared, as well as his negotiations in 1540 and 1543. In the manuscript copy of his letters which is in my possession, there is this note subjoined to the letter written in 1540, to one of the privy-council in England: "After this letter Ralph Sadler returned to England, and stayed there till the death of King James V. in December 1542; and, thereafter, in March 1543, was sent by King Henry VIII. in his second embassy to Scotland." This account is confirmed by the silence with respect to the embassy of 1541, both of Buchanan and of Keith, who, in matters of this nature, is generally very accurate. Indeed Henry, after his apprehensions of a foreign alliance against him were dissipated, by the quarrel between Charles and Francis, in the course of 1540, had little motive for so pertinaciously urging an interview, to which such reluctance had been shewn. Pinkerton, it is true, mentions, that Lindsay of Pitcottie vouches for the embassy of

The views of Henry in sending Sadler, are clearly unfolded in the instructions given to that ambassador. He was commanded to bring the cardinal under suspicion with James ; to persuade that prince to break off from the church of Rome, and to appropriate to himself the wealth of the abbeys, and of other religious foundations ; to discover how he stood affected to the emperor and the king of

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II.

1540.

1541. This is certainly the fact ; but little reliance can be placed upon the chronology of our early writers ; and as Lindsay mistakes the names of the persons sent by Henry, we may presume that he was equally mistaken as to the date. Leslie, too, ascribes to 1541 an embassy from England, but he takes no notice of the undoubted one in 1540. That it was, however, really of this one that he writes, although he has assigned to it an erroneous date, is rendered almost evident by this circumstance, that he represents it as taking place in consequence of the union between Francis and Charles, which, as has been already observed, was dissolved before the expiration of 1540. I have before taken notice of the palpable mistakes of Holinshed and Spottiswoode, which prevent their authority from having, in this case, any weight. From the whole of the documents to which I have access, it seems to be clear that Sadler did not return to Scotland while James was alive. If he did, however, return, in the hope of obtaining, in the absence of the cardinal, as Mr Pinkerton supposes, what he could not accomplish while that able prelate was in the court of his sovereign, his instructions were not of such a nature as to conciliate James ; the quotations given from them by Mr Pinkerton, must have excited the indignation of any independent monarch. Indeed, the violence displayed in them, leads to the belief that they had been composed in a moment of passion ; but, that upon mature reflection, it was judged prudent not to make use of them. One specimen of them will suffice. Sadler was to desire the Scottish king "not to transform himself into a brute or a stock, as the clergy would persuade him to be." For all these reasons I have, in the body of the work, taken no notice of this embassy in 1541, but have constructed the narration upon the supposition that no such embassy had been dispatched to Scotland.

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II.

1540.

France ; and to shew him that his interest would be most effectually promoted by a strict union with his uncle. To give weight to all his representations, Sadler was enjoined to insinuate, that if Edward the prince of Wales, should not survive his father, James might be appointed successor to the English throne ; and after he had thrown out this inticement, he was to request that an interview, such as had been formerly proposed, should take place between the sovereigns, to facilitate arrangements, in which both were so deeply concerned.*

Sadler's account of his negotiations with James, exhibits, in a very favourable light, the acuteness and the steadiness of that monarch. Far from entering into the plans which the ambassador, with much ingenuity and consummate dexterity, recommended, he, in language highly respectful to his uncle, plainly declared that he would not adopt them. When, for the purpose of destroying his favourable opinion of the cardinal, Sadler stated, that this prelate was desirous to engross the temporal as well as the spiritual jurisdiction of the kingdom, and produced intercepted letters to Rome, upon which the charge was founded, James replied, that the cardinal had shewn him duplicates of these letters, and that he completely approved of them ; adding, at the same time, with becoming

* Instructions given to Sir Ralph Sadler, for his conduct in his embassy to Scotland, in 1540.

dignity, that he would assert his rights, and that his clergy, who knew well that he should do so, stood in proper awe of his authority. When he was urged to destroy the religious houses, and to take possession of their revenues, he answered as a man of principle, thinking as he did, ought to have done : that he looked upon such a step as a violation of religion ; and that even upon the plea of expediency, he had no cause to have recourse to it, because the clergy would readily contribute when he stood in need of their contributions. When, agreeably to the injunctions of Henry, which certainly were little in harmony with the character of the monarch from whom they proceeded, Sadler urged, as a motive for the destruction of monasteries, the irregular and dissolute lives of the monks, the king answered, that if the institutions were in themselves proper, the abuse of them afforded no justification for invading them ; but that he would rectify abuses when he had ascertained their existence.

CHAP.

II.

1540.

With the prospect of succession to the English throne, he could not be much dazzled. He knew the capricious temper, and the irritable and violent passions of his uncle ; and it was natural to conclude, that, even in the event of Edward's death, Henry would prefer to a nephew, the female branches of his own family. To the proposal of an interview, he returned an evasive answer. He expressed much desire to converse with the king of England,

CHAP.
II.

1540.

but wished that the king of France should be present ; and when the subject was again started, he said that he should consider of it, and talk more of that matter with Sadler before his departure, adding, in the language of compliment, that the ambassador would be able to give such answer to that, and to all his credence, as, he trusted, would be to the pleasure of the king his uncle.* It is probable that another conversation, upon this subject, took place before he sent back the English minister, in which he made some general declaration, that, if circumstances permitted, he should meet Henry in the course of that monarch's progress through the northern parts of his dominions, and that he instructed Sadler to communicate this to the English sovereign.

But, whatever were the private sentiments of James, with regard to the proposals made to him by Sadler, these proposals excited a strong interest in the minds of the most considerable men in Scotland. The nobility, in general friendly to the reformation, and to an English alliance, earnestly advised the king to meet Henry ; while the clergy, who regarded that prince as a monster of impiety ; who trembled for the stability of their order ; and who, from having attended to the deceitful conduct which he had followed, during the minority of James,

* Sadler's letter to Henry, Ann. 1540, giving an account of his negotiation with the Scottish king.

were probably honestly convinced of the rashness or danger of this measure, used every effort to prevent the conference. They brought forward the same considerations, which, on a former occasion, they had stated; dwelt with much energy upon the danger to which the holy faith would thus be exposed; and represented how little reliance could be placed upon the honour of a prince who had disowned the authority of the pope, in an arbitrary manner seized the possessions of the church, and had cast out from the sanctuaries, in which they had devoted themselves to God, men eminent alike for their piety and their virtue.*

CHAP.
II.
1542.

But they were apprehensive, that the wealth which Henry placed before James as the infallible consequence of adopting the schemes of reformation pointed out to him, might have a great effect in determining the final resolution of the king; more particularly as his desire to gratify a taste for the erection of splendid edifices, rendered him, at this time, very desirous to procure liberal sup-

* Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 277. Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 432. Keith's Hist. B. i. ch. 2. The reader may also consult Drummond of Hawthornden's History of James V., Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, and Lindsay of Pittscottie's History. From looking into these writers, he will perceive the confusion into which this part of the Scottish history has been thrown, and the necessity of much patient comparison to get at the truth; and he will also be disposed to make candid allowance, if the opinion which he should be led to form respecting it, differs from that implied in the narration given in the text.

CHAP.

II.

1540.

James refuses to hold an interview with Henry, and vigorously supports the clergy.

plies.* To destroy the force of this motive, or rather to determine its influence in favour of their views, they offered to make large contributions from their own property ; and they pointed out to him a rich source of wealth, in the confiscation of the goods of those against whom they enjoined him to proceed as guilty of heresy.† The king, naturally inclined to espouse the cause of the church, was so much gratified by its generosity, that he determined, not only to give to it the most zealous support, but to refuse meeting with Henry. Some time after this, accordingly, he dispatched an ambassador to apologize, in the most courteous terms, to his uncle, for his declining the interview, and to complain of encroachments which had been made by the English upon the Scottish frontier.‡

* Buchanan, Lib. dec. quartus, p. 277. This historian, after mentioning the desire of James to erect splendid structures, adds, “ ad hæc pecunia opus habebat Rex, juxta egens ac cupiens.”

† Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 278.

‡ Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 432. Keith, B. i. ch. ii. p. 19. The deliberations, respecting the interview, probably took place in the course of 1540, perhaps soon after Sadler's departure ; although the ambassador was not dispatched to inform Henry of the determination of James till the following year, in the course of which the English monarch had resolved to come to York. It is evident, that he had resolved to come there, not for the express purpose of meeting James, but to survey the northern parts of his dominions ; and he wished his nephew to hold the conference while he was upon his progress. It is proper to attend to this ; for if the sole purpose of Henry's coming to York had been to have an interview

The tyranny of the church was, soon after the departure of Sadler, severely felt by the friends of the reformation. Hitherto the weight of ecclesiastical vengeance had descended chiefly upon men little distinguished by rank or by affluence; but the avarice of the monarch now stimulated the zeal of the priesthood; and the most rigorous proceedings were directed against those, the forfeiture of whose estates would replenish the royal coffers.

CHAP.
II.
1540.
Sir James
Hamilton.

But although the clergy rejoiced in the increased activity of persecution, they were eager that the detestation, excited by it, should be transferred from themselves. They therefore recommended the creation of a new office, the duty of which resembled that performed by the inquisition; and they prevailed upon the king to give the office to Sir James Hamilton, who was devoted to their interests, and whose ferocity and inhumanity eminently qualified him for promoting the purpose for which it had been instituted.

This man, who had once enjoyed, in a high degree, the favour of James, had lost it by his attachment to the family of Douglas, and by the prince's conviction that he was capable of the most dangerous machinations. The influence of the church,

with James, this would have afforded the strongest ground for concluding, that an explicit promise had been given by the king of Scotland. Stowe's Annals, or General Chronicle of England, p. 582. Pinkerton's History of Scotland, Vol. II. Extracts from the second instructions given to Sadler.

CHAP.
II.

1540.

however, overcame the scruples which might else have prevailed against him ; and having received the appointment, he was anxious, by indefatigable diligence, in accomplishing the work assigned to him, again to ingratiate himself with his sovereign.* His intentions, however, were soon defeated, and he was compelled to submit to the untimely fate to which, without compunction, he would have consigned those whom he had determined to proscribe.†

* Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 278. Drummond's History of the Five Jameses, p. 218. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 165. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 71. Keith, B. i. ch. i. p. 10, 11.

† See the authors above quoted. Mr Pinkerton considers the account of Sir James Hamilton's nomination to preside, in what some of our historians have very properly called a Court of Inquisition, as not entitled to credit. He observes, " the stories concerning Sir James, detailed by our protestant writers, seem invented to shew the judgments of God upon persecutors. It appears not that he was ever restored to the favour of James ; and how could he be a judge of a spiritual court ?—was Beaton's ambition inclined to give up his favourite prerogative to him ? The circumstances seem to equal, in veracity, the apparition, mentioned by Lindsay and Buchanan. Had Sir James been just appointed, he would hardly have conspired against his sovereign, whose continued neglect alone seems to have induced him to deeds of desperation." Whatever may be the fact respecting the appointment of Sir James, I cannot imagine that protestant writers—that such a man as Buchanan—would deliberately invent a falsehood to illustrate the judgments of God ; there must have been some evidence of the appointment, or it could never have suggested itself to their minds. With respect to dreams and visions, even a vigorous understanding might, in a superstitious age, be deluded ; but there is no similarity between these and a plain historical assertion. Mr Pinkerton is certainly not fortunate in his reasons for disbelief. Although Sir James had not been reconciled to the king, and would not have been spontaneously nominated by him, the influence of the clergy,

Another Hamilton, who had been sheriff of Linlithgow, and, as some historians state, brother to Patrick Hamilton, who first suffered in the cause of the reformation, had, after a long exile in consequence of his religious principles, been permitted to return for a limited time to his native country.*

CHAP.
II.
1540.

Perceiving, upon his arrival, the danger to which, in common with other protestants, the activity of his relation Sir James exposed him, he determined

then in high favour, might have surmounted this. Of the ambition of Beaton there can be no doubt; but it is equally certain, that the clergy were very anxious not, apparently at least, to take a prominent part in the direction of persecution; and the cardinal might, without great self-denial, allow Sir James to do what the prelate wished should be done rather by a layman than by one of the sacred order. But Mr Pinkerton does not think it probable that Sir James, immediately after obtaining a high office, would have conspired against his sovereign. It would seem, however, that he was accused of having devised or attempted the king's death several times; so that the accusation of a specific act must have referred to a period previous to his appointment; and the whole accusation might have been without foundation. The silence of Knox respecting the appointment, of which he could not be ignorant, and which he might have been expected to mention, as illustrating the artifice and cruelty of the clergy, upon which he delighted to expatiate, is the strongest circumstance against the common account; but where there is no contradictory testimony, it is in general not justifiable to set aside the positive attestation of an intelligent historian, especially when there is no reason to think that he could be, in the slightest degree, biassed by his prejudices. Upon the whole, I have considered the generally received opinion as resting upon sufficient proof to authorize its being inserted in the body of the work.

* Drummond, p. 193, Keith, p. 11, style him brother of Patrick; Buchanan, Lindsay, and Pinkerton, do not mention this circumstance.

CHAP.

II.

1540.

to defeat his efforts by accusing him to the king. His intimate acquaintance with Sir James, in early life, had probably brought him acquainted with his most secret designs. He had discovered, or thought he had discovered, an intention in his cousin, to attack or destroy the monarch ; and, led by oppression to reveal what he had long carried in his bosom, he sent his son to the king, and the young man overtook him when he was about to cross to Fife.* James heard the message which was delivered to him, with the attention which he was always disposed to pay to any account of a scheme against himself ; and he ordered the young man immediately to repair to the council of Edinburgh. The persons who composed it instantly apprehended Sir James, who was highly and justly disliked ; and apprehensive that, through the mediation of the clergy, he would be set at liberty, and actuated, at the same time, by a strong feeling of public or of personal danger, they hastened his trial. He was convicted by the verdict of a numerous assize, and he suffered a most cruel death.†

Aug. 16th.

The fate of Hamilton would probably have had little effect in arresting the measures of severity,

* Drummond's History, p. 219.

† Buchanan, Lib. dec. quart. p. 278. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. ix. p. 429. Drummond's Lives, p. 219, 220. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 165-167. Keith, B. i. ch. 1. and note at p. 11. Pinkerton, Vol. II. Book xv. Leslie's account of the fate of Hamilton, and Holipshed's, taken from Leslie, differ from that of other writers, and the two accounts should be compared.

which, under the sanction of the cardinal, had been taken against the reformers, had not events soon occurred, so deeply interesting to the country, as to engross the attention of all classes of men.

CHAP.
II.
1540.

Although James had, in a great degree, resigned himself to the influence of the clergy, and oppressed or despised his nobles, his mind was tortured by anxiety, and his imagination affected by constitutional melancholy, or by the gloominess of superstition. He saw the danger to which he was exposed from the enmity of his uncle ; he knew that he could defeat this enmity only by the assistance of his barons ; and he dreaded that they would feel little inclination to give to him their cordial support.* The enmity which he had feared soon became apparent. Henry, affecting the most violent resentment against his nephew, for disappointing him of the interview at York, determined to make war upon Scotland ; and, without giving any formal intimation of his intentions, he sent out his fleet and seized some vessels belonging to Scottish merchants, which were returning, richly laden, from foreign countries.†

This shameful breach of justice, and of the law of nations, could not be overlooked by James. He immediately sent an ambassador to remonstrate

* Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 278. Drummond of Hawthornden, p. 221, 222. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 167.

† Lesley, Lib. ix. p. 433. Keith, p. 20.

CHAP.

II.

1542.

against it, and to demand restitution; but Henry, although he held the language of reconciliation, was resolved that reconciliation should not take place. Within a very short time after this outrage, he ordered a small army, commanded by Sir Robert Bowes, to ravage the borders; and that no circumstance of indignity might be wanting, the Earl of Angus, and his brother, Sir George Douglas, attended the expedition. This part of their conduct ought never to be contemplated without detestation, for the scorn and the abhorrence of mankind should be directed against those, who, dead to every natural and amiable feeling, can raise the sword against their native land, and shed the blood of men whom, by the most sacred ties, they are bound to defend.

The enterprize was not successful. James, although desirous to avoid hostilities, had, with commendable prudence, given instructions to some of his forces to resist aggression. An engagement between the rival armies took place; and the Scots, commanded by the Earl of Huntly, obtained, at Haldenrig, a decisive victory. The English general, and several of the most considerable of his attend-

Aug. 24th. ants, were taken prisoners, and Angus and his brother with difficulty escaped.*

Henry, irritated at this unexpected defeat, increased his preparations. He assembled a numer-

* Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 279. Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 434. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 207. Knox, B. i. p. 26. Lindsay of Pittscottie, p. 170. Drummond, p. 223. Keith, B. i. ch. ii. p. 20.

ous army, and nominated to the command the Duke of Norfolk, whom he styled the rod of Scotland. James was not so elated with his success as to be indifferent about the preservation of peace. He sent accordingly a new embassy to his uncle; but all his attempts were fruitless; and Henry, having published a long and laboured manifesto, ordered Norfolk to advance.*

CHAP.
II.
1642.

War declared by
Henry.

The king of Scotland made every preparation to defend his country. He collected his followers, and, accompanied by the most powerful of his nobles, with their retainers, he encamped upon Fala Moor:†

The Duke of Norfolk entered Scotland; but after committing some slight hostilities he retreated, induced to take this unlooked for step by the lateness of the season, or by the apprehension of famine. In his retreat he was harassed by the forces under Huntly; but it has been insinuated that this gallant nobleman might have more effectually distressed him.‡ James was eager for pursuit; and desirous, by a general engagement, to decide the fate of his country. When, however, he made known his intention of entering England, he met with the

The king's
scheme of
invading
England
defeated by
his nobility.

* Buchanan, Leslie, Keith, Holinshed, Lindsay of Pitscottie, as last quoted.

† Drummond's History of James, p. 293. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 173. Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 436.

‡ Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 435, compared with Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 279.

CHAP. II. 1512. firmest resistance from his nobles. They profess-
ed their readiness to support him, at the hazard of
their lives, in his own dominions; but they de-
clared that they would not invade those of Henry,
and that this resolution was founded upon their
anxiety for their king's safety, and their dread of
the melancholy consequences which would result to
Scotland should he be cut off, when he had no
lawful descendants to succeed to the throne.*

His disap-
pointment
and indig-
nation.

1st. Nov.

They were, however, probably actuated by a dif-
ferent motive. They had long beheld, with indigna-
tion, the ascendancy of the priesthood over the royal
mind, and had long complained of the coldness or
neglect with which they themselves were regarded,
and considering this war as subservient to the views
of the clergy, they not only refused to prosecute it,
but they formed a scheme of sacrificing, to their re-
sentment, those of the court whom they conceived
to be directed by the cardinal and his faction. Pri-
vate attachment to many who would thus have been
cut off, rendered the plan abortive; but the king
had discovered it, and partly on this account, partly
from the uselessness of contending with his barons
on the field, he went with his courtiers to Edin-
burgh, and the army dispersed.† Lord Maxwell

* Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 435, 436. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 207. Drummond's History, p. 224, 225.

† Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 174. Drummond's History, p. 224, 225. Knox's History of the Reformation, B. i. p. 27. Keith's History, B. i. ch. ii. p. 20.

alone seconded the monarch, and offered, with ten thousand men, to march into England.

CHAP.
II.

But although James was thus compelled to relinquish his scheme of pursuing Norfolk, he was resolved to carry on the war; and standing in need of supplies, he addressed himself to the clergy, in whose attachment he now solely confided. They did not neglect the opportunity of confirming the favourable disposition of their sovereign; they contributed from their own revenues; and they delivered to him a list of the most affluent of his subjects who had incurred the suspicion of heresy, urging him to enrich himself by the confiscation of their wealth. This measure they had before, in more tranquil times, recommended to him, but the generosity of his nature had led him to reject it with horror. He bitterly reproached those who had suggested it, threatened to proceed to an immediate reformation of their enormities, and with much violence drove them from his presence.† The provocation which he had now received from the barons, removed the honourable scruples which he had felt, and it is not improbable that he would have carried the scheme into execution.

1542.
Zeal of the
clergy to
promote
the views
of their
sovereign.

Having again assembled a considerable army, he prepared for hostilities. Exasperated against his nobles, he determined not to confer upon any of their

He collects
a new
army.

* Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 279.

† Knox's History, B. i. p. 28. Sir James Melvill's Memoirs, p. 2d and 4th. Keith, B. i. ch. 1.

CHAP.
II.1542.
Appoints
an unpopular
leader.Rout of
Solway
Moss.

order the honour of commanding the forces, but selected for that distinguished and important station Oliver Sinclair, a man of no rank.* When the letters, conferring on Sinclair this high office, were read, indignation was spread amongst the nobles, and Maxwell, who certainly merited the command, was in a peculiar degree hurt and offended. Yielding to the violence of their feelings, all regard to subordination was extinguished, and irretrievable confusion immediately followed. A small detachment of the enemy, perceiving the disorder, made an attack. The Scottish forces were instantly struck with a panic; a handful of assailants put them to ignominious flight, and drove them into the marshes, with which they were surrounded. Without the slightest attempt to resist, and without almost the loss

* Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 436. Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 279. Knox, B. i. p. 29. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 208. Melvill's Memoirs, p. 6. Pitscottie, p. 175. Drummond, p. 236. This last historian mentions, that Sinclair was only appointed to read the commission, which really nominated Maxwell to be the leader. This account, in every point of view most improbable, transmitted only by Drummond, and stated by him as a report, has been adopted by Pinkerton, and by Ruddiman in his Annotations to Buchanan, p. 450. The silence of Leslie, with respect to it, is sufficient, as Keith justly observed, to discredit it; but laying this out of the question, can it be supposed that the first intimation which would be given to Maxwell of the honour conferred on him, would be by reading his commission to the army? Yet it is certain that he was totally ignorant of the king's intention; for he saw, with the utmost indignation, what he considered as the instalment of Sinclair in the command of the expedition.

of a man, the army of Scotland was dispersed, and the flower of her nobility led into captivity.*

CHAP.
II.

1542.

The conduct of the nobles, through the whole of this war, cannot be completely justified. They were right in conceiving that an invasion of England, at such a season, ought to be avoided; they were firmly convinced that victory would strengthen the faction which degraded and oppressed them; and some allowance must certainly be made for the indignant feelings of haughty and ferocious chieftains; but perhaps no combination of circumstances, and no degree of insult, or of oppression, can justify any relaxation of effort against the enemies of our country. The first duty of a patriot is to break the foreign yoke which is forged to enslave him; and when he has thus secured himself, he should guard, from domestic tyranny, the rights and the liberty which he is eager to preserve.

Had the powerful barons obeyed Sinclair, and presented a formidable aspect to the enemy, it is evident that they would at least have avoided a defeat; and after the forces of England had been withdrawn, they might have avenged their wrongs, or pleaded their loyalty as a ground for soliciting the esteem or the respect of their sovereign.

By acting as they did, they contributed to in-

* Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 279. Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 436, 437. Drummond's Hist. of James V. p. 226. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 208. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 176. Knox, B. i. p. 29, 30. Keith, B. i. ch. ii. p. 21. Stowe's Annals, p. 583.

CHAP. II. **crease the evil which they were so anxious to remove.** The party devoted to the church was indeed deprived of a victory, but it was at the same time delivered from its most formidable opponents, and was of course exempted from all dread of powerful opposition.

1542.

James resigns himself to melancholy.

His death.
Dec. 14th
or 15th.

But an event soon took place, which gave a new aspect to the situation of Scotland, and exerted a very decided influence upon the progress of the reformation. The king, amazed and depressed by the disgraceful intelligence of the rout of his army, resigned himself to melancholy. He retired to his palace of Falkland, and, secluded from all social intercourse, he permitted the disasters of his kingdom, and the disaffection of the nobility, to prey upon his mind. His strength, without any particular disease, rapidly wasted; and after receiving, with prophetic lamentation, intelligence of the birth of the unfortunate Mary, he expired in the thirtieth year of his age.*

The war which terminated thus unhappily for Scotland, has been usually ascribed to the intrigues and the violence of the clergy. I must candidly acknowledge, that there appears to me little ground for so heavy an accusation. It is apparent that Henry had determined upon hostilities. His renewal of the offensive claim of homage could be intended only to irritate, and James had, in fact, af-

* Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 279-280. Annotation upon the passage by Ruddiman, p. 450.

forded him no just cause of offence. His refusal to go to York, admitting it to have been the consequence of the advice of Beaton, which that prelate, however, positively denied, was no injury. He was, as well as his uncle, an independent sovereign; and had Henry felt all the anxiety which he pretended to converse with his nephew, he could, without the slightest derogation from his honour, and without at all endangering his safety, have come to Scotland. James was most reluctant to interrupt the peace which it was so desirable to preserve. He made many efforts to avert a calamity, the magnitude of which he distinctly perceived; and had there been the slightest wish in the English monarch for an accommodation, he could, with the utmost facility, have procured it. After the war did commence, the high spirit of the Scottish sovereign was indeed awakened. The recollection of his father's fate, and the desire of avenging it, roused the enthusiasm of vigorous youth; he was eager to encounter the army, which withdrew before him; and when this wish was frustrated, he resolved again to raise forces, that he might desolate England. When he was deserted by his barons, he threw himself upon the clergy. Agreeably to the professions which they had often made, they did not oppose him; they furnished him with money, and suggested a shocking scheme for recruiting his exhausted finances: but this does not imply that they impelled him to war, and it is im-

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possible to see what they could hope to gain by doing so. They were surely too enlightened to believe that Scotland, without aid, could conquer England; and they must have known, that, from the state of the continental powers, they could expect no important assistance from France, the ancient ally of their nation.

It is not easy to conceive, that, under all these circumstances, they could fail to discern, that the issue of a war with Henry would be an increase of power to that detested sovereign, and would give an impulse to the reformation, which might render it vain for them longer to attempt resistance. The origin of the war, then, must be ascribed to the English king; and the calamitous fate of James ought to be attributed much more to the disaffection or the discontent of his nobility, than to the interested policy of the clergy.*

His character.

The decided part which this monarch took against the innovations in religion, has given a bias to many of the historians who have delineated his character, inclining them to dwell on his vices, and to pass lightly over the many princely virtues with which he was endowed. Corrupted by the criminal policy of the guardians of his youth, who, to prolong their own authority, wished to divert his attention from the affairs of government, he early

* Leslie, Buchanan, Knox, Drummond, Lindsay of Pitcottie, as before quoted. Pinkerton, Vol. II. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State in the Life of the Earl of Cassillis, p. 381 of the book.

became enslaved to habits of licentiousness, which he was unable in after life to overcome. Avarice, produced by the prodigality of those who, during his minority, had wasted his resources, sometimes marked his conduct ; and his zeal, in depressing the nobles, perhaps was frequently directed more by private antipathy than by regard to the welfare of the community ; but his general ideas of the duties of a sovereign were just and exalted. He asserted, with inflexible steadiness, the authority of law ; exposed himself to danger in repressing those who set it at defiance ; and he instituted a tribunal of justice for securing the rights and the liberties of his subjects. He improved the situation of his kingdom, by the introduction of many useful and ornamental arts ; while, in the plainness of his dress, and in the moderation of his table, he set an example calculated to preserve the martial spirit, which it was of so much importance to cherish. To the complaints of the poor, oppressed by the tyranny, and insulted by the contempt of their feudal lords, his ear was ever open ; he listened, with a mild condescension which gained their affections, and he redressed their grievances with an energy which excited their confidence and their veneration. So striking indeed was this feature of his character, that he received, in consequence of it, the gratifying and noble appellation of the poor man's king.

The facility with which he consented to the infliction of the awful punishments to which the ad-

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herents of the new opinions were doomed to submit, casts a stain upon his administration which it is painful to contemplate. But it must, in extenuation, be recollected, that he was naturally disposed to be merciful, and that he yielded to the prejudices and manners of the times, and to the peculiar circumstances in which he found himself placed. Subjected, in a great degree, to the clergy, he had no wish to perpetuate the abuses which disgraced their order; he made some attempts to reform them; and, had his life been prolonged, it is probable that he would have applied remedies proportioned to his increased conviction of the necessity of adopting them.

His death spread lamentation through the country. His body was conveyed to Edinburgh; and the multitude, with unfeigned sorrow, beheld their youthful sovereign committed to the grave, in which the remains of his beloved Magdalen had been before deposited.*

* Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 438. Buchanan, Lib. xiv. p. 280. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 209, 210. Drummond's Hist. of the Five Jameses. p. 228-231. Lindsay of Pittscottie, p. 177-178. Keith's Hist. B. i. ch. 2. Sir James Melvill's Memoirs, p. 6. Anderson's Selectus Diplomatum et Numismatum, p. 20.

CHAPTER THIRD.

Distracted situation of Scotland after the death of James....Attempt of Beaton to obtain the regency frustrated!...Earl of Arran regent....Views of the English monarch....Proposes a marriage between Edward and Mary....The Scottish Lords in England approve the scheme....Correspondence with the Regent and council of Scotland....They agree to the marriage....The Cardinal's party oppose it....Cardinal imprisoned....A parliament....Wisdom of its measures....Arrival of Sadler in Scotland....His instructions and negotiations....Manly conduct of the Regent....Unjustifiable propositions of Henry....Modifies his demands....Treaties concluded....Progress of the Reformation....Liberty granted to read the Scriptures....Protestation of the Clergy....Prudence of Arran....Tranquillity of Scotland not lasting....Intrigues of the Queen Dowager....and the Cardinal....His artful policy....Opposes the Regent....Impolitic conduct of Henry....Beaton takes advantage of it....Earl of Lennox....The young Queen carried to Stirling....Regent ratifies the treaties with England....Attaches himself to the Cardinal....Cardinal's conduct to the Earl of Lennox.

THE situation of Scotland after the death of James was, in every respect, most deplorable. Distracted by factions, which were embittered by the bigotry of

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CHAP. the ancient clergy, and strengthened even by the
 III. ardour felt in the cause of reformation; placed

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 Distracted
 state of
 Scotland
 after the
 death of
 James.

under a sovereign in her earliest infancy, and at war with a most powerful monarch, who had too plainly disclosed his anxiety to reduce it to subjection, it is astonishing that it not only preserved its independence, but so decisively asserted it, as at length to procure that union with England, which has consolidated into one great nation the two rival kingdoms, and conveyed through the whole of Britain the wealth of enlarged commerce, the harmony of cordial attachment to the best of constitutions, and a degree of improvement in art and in science, of which the most sanguine, at the period of which I write, could not have formed a conception.*

Attempt of
 Beaton to
 obtain the
 regency
 frustrated.

The unexpected dissolution of the king opened a wide field for the most daring attempts of ambition. Beaton, who had long enjoyed his confidence, and influenced his sentiments, was unwilling to relinquish the power to which he was so ardently attached, and the preservation of which now appeared to him to be essential for securing the existence or the affluence of the church. He made, therefore, a bold effort to secure the regency, by publishing what he represented as the deed of the late monarch, in relation to that high and important office. This deed constituted the cardinal, and three noblemen who were devoted to him, or whom, he trusted, he should easily direct, guardians of the

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 December.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 281.

young queen, and governors of Scotland during her minority.*

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In what manner the deed was framed or procured, is not certainly known. They who believed Beaton capable of having recourse to the vilest arts to accomplish his designs, charged him with having affixed the signature of James, when that monarch was struggling with the pains of dissolution; while the difficulties attending this supposition have led the greater number of historians, probably with justice, to believe, that the writing was entirely a forgery, and that the hand of the king had not been employed.†

The cardinal, notwithstanding his activity and his influence, was unable to accomplish this splendid object of his ambition. The great body of the people shrunk with horror from the administration of an unprincipled and savage persecutor; and the nobility, with becoming spirit, determined to exalt to a station of such dignity that nobleman who was

Earl of Ar-
ran declar-
ed regent.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 281, compared with Leslie, Lib. x. p. 441, 442. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 210. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 180. Knox, B. i. p. 31. Keith, B. i. ch. iii. p. 24. Mackenzie's Life of Beaton, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 21.

† Knox, B. i. p. 32. Keith, B. i. ch. iii. p. 24. Sadler's Letter, dated 12th April, 1542. The forgery of the will is asserted by Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 281. Spottiswoode, p. 7. Holinshed's Chron. Vol. II. p. 211. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 21. Crawford, in his Lives of Officers of State, Vol. I. p. 80. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 441, 442, mentions, that the cardinal and his friends affirmed that the king had made the appointment, but that they could not prove it.

CHAP. most nearly allied to the royal family. James Ha-
 III. milton Earl of Arran was the next heir to the
 1542. crown. He was distinguished by the amiable vir-
 tues which adorn private life, and render it happy ;
 but he was destitute of that soundness and enlarge-
 ment of understanding, and of that resolute firmness
 which the perilous condition of his country so im-
 periously required.* Had he followed his own
 inclinations, he would have continued in the retire-
 ment to which, by all his habits, he was attached ;
 but the earnest entreaties of those who considered
 his exaltation as of infinite advantage to the king-
 dom, induced him to aspire to the regency. Sup-
 ported by many of the most powerful of his own
 order, who wished for an alliance with England,
 and were eager to promote the reformation, he was
 proclaimed governor of the realm, and tutor of the
 queen ; and he immediately took possession of the
 treasury, making all the requisite arrangements for
 conducting the administration of Scotland.†

The queen remained at Linlithgow with her
 mother. The most liberal provision was made for
 securing her comfort and upholding her dignity ;
 and men, illustrious by rank, by merit, and by

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 281. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 180. Knox,
 B. i. p. 32. Spottiswoode, p. 71. Sadler's Correspondence in March
 1543.

† Leslie, Lib. ix. p. 441, 442. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 81. Keith,
 B. ii. ch. 3. Knox, B. i. p. 32. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 71. Holin-
 shed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 211.

loyalty, were selected to watch over a life, in the preservation of which all felt the deepest concern.*

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It cannot be imagined that Henry would regard with indifference this most important change in the situation of Scotland. The nobility, who had been taken prisoners at Solway, he had treated with an indulgence not congenial with the general impetuosity and ferocity of his temper. After having reproved them for violating, as he asserted, the faith which their country had pledged, he delivered them from imprisonment, and recommended them to the hospitality of the most distinguished of his courtiers.† It has been supposed that secret intelligence of the death of James, and of the birth of a daughter, had led him to adopt conduct so marked by moderation, and so worthy of the generosity of a magnificent sovereign.‡ He was, however, in all probability, ignorant of these events, and pursued this policy to strengthen his party in Scotland, and to prepare for carrying into execution a scheme which he had formed, of conquering that kingdom by the dissensions of contending factions, rather than by arms, the inefficacy of which he had so frequently experienced.

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Views of
the English
monarch.

But the momentous information respecting his

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 442.

† Stowe's Annals, p. 583, 684. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 281. Keith, B. i. ch. iii. p. 25, 26.

‡ Keith, B. i. ch. 3. note to page 26.

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Henry pro-
poses a mar-
riage be-
tween Ed-
ward and
Mary.

nephew's dissolution, and the birth of Mary, no sooner reached him than he resolved to take advantage of it, and of the favourable impression which he had made upon his prisoners. He invited them to a splendid entertainment, and, having lamented the hostilities which had so often created misery to both countries, and expressed his most earnest desire that these hostilities should be extinguished for ever, he proposed, as the most natural, and the most desirable mode of doing so, that his son Edward should espouse the Scottish queen.*

The general arrangement was unquestionably for the advantage of both nations ; and had nothing more been required, it might have been fairly concluded that the approbation of it, expressed by the Scottish lords, resulted from the purest love of their country. But the ungenerous and grasping policy of Henry was not satisfied with a scheme, which could not, for many years, be carried into execution. He therefore required that the lords should use their efforts to put the government of Scotland into his hands ; to induce the estates to surrender to him all the fortified towns ; and immediately to

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 442. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 282. Keith, B. i. ch. 3. Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, Vol. I. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 235, 236. Stowe mentions, in his Annals, and several of the English historians have copied it from him, that the lords first made the proposal of the marriage ; but the other account is more probable in itself, and the authority of Scottish writers may, in this case, be preferred to that of the English Annalist.

send into England their infant sovereign. These propositions, so degrading, and so shocking to manly and elevated minds, should have been heard with abhorrence. So far, however, was this from being the case, that the lords made the most ample protestations of their zeal to carry them into effect; anxiety to return to their native country extinguished their ardour for that independence which alone should have endeared it; and what is still more humiliating, and still more disgraceful to the honour of so large a part of our ancient nobility, they displayed no aversion to those mercenary allurements, by which the English monarch sought to confirm their attachment.*

Convinced of their sincere desire to promote his views, he permitted them, after they had given security for their return, should they not be successful, to depart for Scotland. Having been admitted into the presence of the young prince, to enable them to deliver their own opinion with respect to him, they prosecuted their journey; and their sureties being delivered to the Duke of Suffolk, they arrived in Edinburgh about the middle of January.†

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They were accompanied by the Earl of Angus

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 281, 282. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 442. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 72. Keith, B. i. ch. 3. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. The most ample information, respecting the propositions of Henry, and the conduct of the Scottish lords, is to be derived from Sadler's Letters.

† Buchanan, Leslie, Keith, as last quoted.

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and Sir George Douglas, his brother, both of whom had, for fifteen years, been most deservedly banished from Scotland. They had, during that time, without any regard to the feelings of James, been patronized by Henry; and they now returned with warm recommendations to the governor, which had been granted by the English monarch, from the conviction, that the influence of the one, and the abilities of the other, would be of eminent use in completing the arrangements in which he was so deeply interested. To place this beyond a doubt, he had indeed taken every precaution. The Earl of Angus solemnly swore that he should labour to facilitate what was, in fact, the subjugation of his country; and although Sir George, from an affected delicacy of conscience, refused to take an oath, he gave the most explicit assurances, that his sole object should be to establish Henry's sovereignty over Scotland.*

Correspondence with the regent and council of Scotland.

Immediately upon their arrival in Edinburgh, the prisoners disclosed to the regent the intentions of Henry with regard to the match. For this Arran had been prepared by a correspondence which had accidentally commenced between the Scottish council and the English monarch, and of which Henry had availed himself to intimate his plan, and to make the warmest professions of anxiety to promote the happiness of Scotland. The political and religious sentiments of the regent, na-

* See Sadler's Letters and negotiations in the year 1543, *passim*. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 236.

turally disposed him to approve of an alliance with England. He therefore received the captive lords with the utmost cordiality; declared, without reserve, his approbation of the marriage; and, as soon as possible, solicited an armistice, that every impediment to the union which had been proposed might be removed.* Sensible, however, that in a matter of such infinite moment, he should not be guided solely by his own opinions, he summoned a great council of the nobility to meet at Edinburgh, that he might receive their advice. In this council it was resolved, that a parliament should be assembled to confirm the match, and to form a treaty of peace between the British nations.†

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They approve the marriage.
Jan. 7.

But obviously advantageous as the marriage and the peace were for Scotland, Arran and his friends knew well that both would be most vigorously opposed. Beaton, supported by the queen-dowager, and several of the most powerful of the nobility, regarded, with abhorrence, the measures which were now in agitation—measures which subverted all the political principles that he had, through life, espoused. He saw that they were designed to put an end to the alliance with France; and what, perhaps, still more deeply affected him, they threatened the extinction of his own influence, and the ruin of the established church. The defeat which he had late-

The cardinal's party oppose it.

* Mackenzie's Life of Mary, at the commencement, in Vol. III. of his Lives. Keith, B. i. ch. iii. p. 26.

† Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 212. Keith, B. i. ch. iii. p. 27.

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ly sustained did not intimidate him; and he determined to exert all the energy of his vigorous mind, in order to prevent so intimate a connexion with England.

The possession of the supreme power; the support of by much the most numerous part of the nobles; the artful intrigues and the fascinating promises of Henry, did not free the governor from all apprehension about the result of the cardinal's opposition; and he therefore embraced the resolution of committing him to prison. The prelate was accordingly apprehended, upon the ground of having invited the Duke of Guise to invade Scotland. In support of this strange accusation there was no proof; it does not seem to have been believed, even by those who acted upon it; and it would not have been used, could it have been placed beyond a doubt that the cardinal had forged a deed in name of the late king, or if any evidence, tending to substantiate a crime for which he would have justly suffered, could have been obtained.*

* Leslie, B. x. p. 443. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 211, 212. Keit, B. i. ch. iii. p. 27. Spottiswoode, p. 72. Letter of Sir Ralph Sadler, dated 12th April, 1543. It appears from Sadler, that the governor was reluctant to assign to Henry any reason for apprehending Beaton. Being, however, urged by Sadler, he told him, as the ambassador writes in the letter of the above-mentioned date, "that the principal cause was an information from Lord Lyle, that the cardinal had invited the Duke of Guise to come with an army to subdue this realm, and to take the government of the same, whereof now we have no proof, and we perceive not that the same was true."—That Sadler, however, might not dread that there was nothing to be

The leader of the adverse party thus being removed, the parliament assembled ; and in the course of the session, which, agreeably to the common practice of that period, continued only a few days, the most interesting deliberations took place respecting the proposals of Henry. After Arran had been declared the second person in the kingdom, and next heir to the crown, and after he had been confirmed as tutor to the queen, and, during her minority, governor of Scotland, the archbishop of Glasgow, lord-chancellor of the kingdom, submitted to the consideration of the estates, the great political objects, for discussing which they had been convoked. Almost all who were present decidedly approved of peace with England, and of their queen's marriage with the prince of Wales. They were not, however, so dazzled with these arrangements as to throw aside the salutary precaution, with which every circumstance connected with them ought to have been examined. They were, perhaps, sensible of the imperious disposition, and the excessive ambition of Henry ; they had very probably obtained some information respecting his secret instructions to his faithful

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March 12.
A parliament.Wisdom
its mea-
sures.

laid to Beaton's charge, Arran adds, " We have other matters to charge him with, for he did counterfeit the late king's testament ; and when the king was even almost dead, he took his hand in his, and so caused him to subscribe a blank paper." From the manner in which this accusation was introduced by the governor, I think it appears evident, that although it had been very extensively circulated, and although there was plainly every inclination to believe it, no proof of it could be obtained.

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adherents ; and, determined to preserve the freedom or the independence of their country, they gave to the ambassadors, whom they unanimously resolved to dispatch to London, the most pointed instructions to stipulate, that Mary should not be removed from Scotland till she was of age to complete the marriage ; and that the forts should, upon no account, be surrendered to the English monarch.*

The day after the prorogation of parliament, Sir Ralph Sadler arrived in Edinburgh. His talents for negotiation, his intimate acquaintance with the habits and manners of Scotland, and his long experience, peculiarly qualified him for the difficult part which he had to act ; and although he was not able to accomplish the designs of his master, he displayed the most unwearied zeal, and the most admirable prudence and address.†

His instructions and negotiations.

Soon after his arrival he had an interview with the governor, to whom he delivered his credentials and letters from his sovereign. A council having

* Sadler's letter, dated 20th March 1543. Keith, B. i. ch. 3. Mackenzie, in his Life of Mary, Vol. III. of his Lives.

† Buchanan, Leslie, and Holinshed, mention, that Sadler attended the deliberations of parliament ; and Dr Stuart, in his History of the Reformation in Scotland, has expressed himself in such a manner, as to afford ground for supposing that he was of this opinion. There can, however, be no doubt that parliament was prorogued before Sadler's arrival ; for that minister, in his letter to Henry, dated the 20th of March, 1543, expressly says, that he arrived in Edinburgh on Sunday afternoon, and that, on the day before, they had prorogued the parliament.

been summoned, he attended ; informed them that he had been sent to reside in Scotland, as the commissioner of the king of England ; expressed his satisfaction that they had agreed to send ambassadors to negotiate respecting the marriage and the peace ; and requested that he might be made acquainted with the particular instructions which had been given to them.

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The council received him very graciously, and declared, in general terms, their good will to his master, but declined communicating to him the instructions. They assured him, however, that the ambassadors had been furnished with powers sufficiently extensive to bring the negotiation to a successful issue.*

Sadler at once discerned that there was no intention to comply with the full demands of Henry ; and he began to employ every method which he thought might incline them to give an unconditional assent to the insulting propositions which the captive lords had conveyed to Scotland. He held, with these lords, many conferences, and complained of their remissness in not having obtained the government for his master, or, at least, in not having insisted that the young queen should be immediately delivered, and the fortresses surrendered. In the style of hypocrisy, or insincerity, so often employed by the ministers of sovereign powers, he then ex-

* Sadler's letter to Henry, dated 20th March, 1543.

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patiated upon the moderation of Henry, and upon the reasonableness of his proposals; enumerating all the advantages which would result to Scotland, if the regent should implicitly assent to these proposals. He urged them, therefore, to renew their efforts; and, that their zeal might be stimulated, he distributed the pensions, which, with the most despicable meanness, they had consented to receive.*

Manly
conduct of
the gover-
nor.

He also endeavoured to convince the governor of the justice of the representations which, with the utmost perseverance, he addressed to him. Arran, however, preferred the duty which he owed to his country to the favour of the English monarch. He uniformly replied to Sadler, that Henry had his heart above all other princes, and that he should have him at command in all things, "saving his duty and allegiance to his sovereign lady and the realm."[†]

Unjustifi-
able pro-
positions of
Henry.

This manly and honourable reply should have excited the esteem of a generous monarch; but Henry treated it with contempt. He instructed his ambassador to endeavour to shake the constancy of Arran, by alarming his fears, and exciting his hopes. Sadler accordingly dwelt upon the many calamities which, in the present state of Scotland,

* Sadler's Letters. Almost every letter confirms the above statement, and shews the greediness for money which Angus and the captive lords displayed. See, particularly, the letters dated 20th of April and 1st of May.

† Sadler's Letters of March and April. Keith, Book i. ch. iii. p. 28.

would result from renewing hostilities ; and maintained that these calamities could be avoided only by departing from the resolutions of parliament, and acquiescing in the wishes of the English sovereign. He then endeavoured to allure the governor to act in the manner which he had advised, by promising, that the princess Elizabeth should be given in marriage to his son ; and, some time after, by an assurance that Henry would make him king of that part of Scotland beyond the Forth, if the opposite party should get possession of the queen's person.*

All this, however, was insufficient to answer the end for which it had been designed. The governor was shocked by the demands which Henry made to the ambassadors who had been sent to his court ; and he declared that he never could be induced to accede to them. The partition of his country he probably regarded with abhorrence ; and he was not ignorant that, notwithstanding the offers which, from interested motives, were made to him, his accession to the regency was far from being acceptable to England. His determination to follow the line of conduct which he had adopted, was strengthened by the state of public opinion. Although the majority of the nobility were favourable to an alliance with Henry, they were actuated by the purest patriotism ; and would, without hesitation, have sa-

* Sadler's Letters. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 238. Keith's History, B. i. ch. iii. p. 28.

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crificed their possessions and their lives to secure the independence of the kingdom.*

Hitherto there had been at least the appearance of honourable negotiation. But Henry was not restrained, by his principles, from using any means which seemed calculated to promote his designs. He enjoined Sadler to represent to Arran the importance of sending the cardinal into England; and when no attention was paid to this suggestion, he did not hesitate to urge the lords who depended upon his bounty, to carry off, by force, the young queen, and to put her into his hands. It is painful to reflect, that no reluctance was shewn to attempt what was so infamous in itself, and so totally inconsistent with any regard to the happiness of Scotland. The scheme, however, was impracticable; the queen was securely guarded; and the attempt might have produced consequences which would have been instantly fatal both to the marriage and the peace.†

Finds it
necessary
to modify
his de-
mands.

Sadler was at length convinced, from his own observation, and from the assurances of the English party, that it was vain to continue the high tone which he had assumed, and that it was necessary for his master either to be more moderate in his re-

* Sadler's letter to Henry, dated 30th April, 1543. Keith and Mackenzie, as before quoted. See also a letter to the lords of the privy-council in England, dated 4th April, 1543.

† Sadler's letters to the lords of the privy-council, dated 1st April, 1543. Keith, B. i. ch. iii. p. 23. Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 100.

quisitions, or to have recourse to arms. Henry, CHAP.
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1543. upon being assured of this, most unwillingly departed from his original designs, and appointed commissioners to treat with Scottish commissioners, to whom the earl of Glencairn and Sir George Douglas, two of his most devoted adherents, had been added.* Treaties of peace and of marriage Treaties
concluded. were soon concluded and signed; and two months were allowed to Henry, and the regent of Scotland, with the consent of parliament, for ratification.†

By the treaty of marriage, it was stipulated that Mary should continue in Scotland till she was ten years of age, it being conceded that Henry should send a certain number of attendants to wait upon her, and superintend her education; that hostages should be given to him for the execution of the treaty; and that Scotland should continue to be an independent kingdom. The treaty of peace was drawn up in the most general terms, although Henry had wished it to contain an explicit renouncement of the league with France.‡

* Sadler, in his Letters, gives a minute account of the progress of the negotiation with England, and of the views of Douglas, in being appointed one of the commissioners to the English court.

† Keith's History, B. i. ch. iii. p. 28, 29. Knox, B. i. p. 35. Even Knox admits that the English lords were bribed.

‡ The two treaties are inserted, at full length, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XIV.; and summaries of them are given by Keith, in his History of Scotland, B. i. ch. 3., and by Mackenzie, in his Life of Queen Mary.

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III.1543.
Progress of
the reformation.

This negotiation with England was, in the highest degree, favourable to the progress of the reformation. During the period of its occupying the attention of the Scottish government, the protestants were protected; and they hoped that its successful termination would ensure the triumph of those principles to which they had so resolutely adhered. Through the first part of the administration of Arran they received the most flattering support. In the retirement of his early life, that nobleman had attached himself to the pursuits of literature, and had perused some of the books in which the pretensions of the church of Rome were exposed and confuted.* It is certain that the clergy, during the life of the king, had considered that he was hostile to them; and he believed that he had been placed at the head of the list of heretics which they presented to that monarch.† After his exaltation to the regency, he made a plain discovery of his sentiments, by receiving into his family, as his domestic chaplains, John Rough and Thomas Williams, two preachers, who, although originally of the order of Dominicans, had escaped from its errors, had denied the supremacy of the pope, and had been in the prac-

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 282.

† Arran, in a conversation with Sadler respecting the cardinal, observed—"If he might have his purpose, I should surely go to the fire; as, when the king lived, he told him I was the greatest heretic in the world." Sadler's letter dated 27th March.

tice of discoursing, with much vehemence, against the corruptions of the Roman faith.*

CHAP.
III.

1543.

His partiality to the protestant tenets was strengthened by the noblemen who had been taken prisoners at Solway. During their residence at the English court, their attention had been forcibly attracted to the state of religion. Their previous sentiments prepared them for joining in the ardour with which subjection to Rome was stigmatized and condemned; and the earl of Cassillis, who was recommended to the hospitality of Cranmer, probably received from that distinguished prelate juster opinions respecting the nature of the reformation than he would otherwise have acquired.†

In the parliament which had assembled to deliberate upon the propositions of Henry, the interesting subject of religion was not forgotten. Lord Maxwell, one of the prisoners, proposed, that the restrictions which had been laid upon reading the Scriptures should be removed, and full permission granted to all her majesty's subjects to possess the word of God in the vulgar tongue. To this most important regulation the governor gave his most

Liberty
granted to
read the
Scriptures.

* Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, B. i. p. 33. Spottiswoode's History, B. ii. p. 72. Keith's History, B. i. ch. iv. p. 37.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. i. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. Part 2d. B. iii. p. 198. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, &c. in Scotland, p. 381, 382. Cassillis had been the pupil of the celebrated Buchanan, and must have imbibed from him some zeal in the cause of the reformation. Buchanan's Vita, p. 2. Crawford, as last quoted.

CHAP.

III.

1548.

Protesta-
tion of the
clergy.

cordial assent ; and the lords of the articles having approved of it, it was converted into a law. The clergy heard the intimation with amazement and apprehension. They saw that consequences would in all probability follow from it, most injurious to the established faith ; but they were not able to prevent what the executive government had determined to sanction. That they might, however, be guiltless of the imaginary crime of permitting Christians to read what the blessed Author of the gospel had exhorted them to search, the representatives of the priesthood protested, and stated their reasons against any law upon so delicate and momentous a subject. The archbishop of Glasgow, in his own name, and in that of the other prelates, dissented, because he wished that the measure should be deferred, until a council should be held of all the clergy within the realm, to take into their consideration whether it was necessary that the lieges should have access to a translation of the Bible.*

This protestation, high as was the authority of the chancellor, who presented it, and eager as the governor must have been to retain his countenance and secure his support, did not prevail ; for, in two

* Knox, B. i. p. 33, 34. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 72. There is some inaccuracy in the account of both these historians. The documents, which throw full light upon the subject, are given by Keith, B. i. ch. 4. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 443, affirms that the governor, of his own authority, gave the permission to read the Scriptures, which was not the case. The observation added by this writer shews, that he considered that permission as a fatal blow to the established faith. Sadler's Letters, particularly his letter to the king, dated 9th April, 1548.

days after the adjournment of parliament, Arran issued a special proclamation, intimating to the inhabitants of Scotland the liberty which had been bestowed.*

CHAP.
III.

1543.

To disseminate still more effectually the knowledge of Scripture, and the principles embraced by protestants, he requested Sir Ralph Sadler to write to England for some books of the New Testament, and some Bibles in English, together with the statutes and injunctions made by Henry for the reformation of the clergy, and for extirpating the influence of the bishop of Rome. In a subsequent conversation with this minister, he said to him, "that if the English king would send such books as he intended to publish by authority, containing such a certain doctrine as is maintainable by the mere truth, he would not fail to publish them in Scotland."†

But while he thus made what he considered as the most effectual provision for the instruction of the people, his prudence, and his natural aversion to violent measures, restrained him from any direct attack upon the institutions of the established religion. He steadily resisted the solicitations of Sad-

Prudence
of Arran.

* Keith, B. i. ch. 4, who has inserted the proclamation. Sadler's Letters.

† Sadler's Letters, 9th April, and a previous one, the date of which is, I suppose erroneously, marked 10th April. It should probably have been the 1st. Keith, B. i. ch. 4.

CHAP. ler to root out the regular clergy, and to dissolve
 III. the monasteries, upon this strong ground, that
 1543. many of the great men were still attached to the church, and that such measures would infallibly increase the dissensions, which, in the present state of Scotland, it was of so much importance to weaken, or to extinguish. His penetration, however, already discerned the operation of that desire to pillage the church; which had afterwards very extensive effects; and he accordingly hinted, that much might be expected from the avarice of the nobles, or from their anxiety, as he explained it, to possess the lands belonging to the abbeys.*

Tranquil-
 lity of Scot-
 land.

The counsels which the governor had hitherto followed, so moderate, and so clearly indicating the most genuine patriotism, seemed to have materially improved the situation of Scotland. He was now supported by the monarch, whose enmity would have been most formidable; an alliance with England, so desirable to his country, was in some measure secured; persecution had ceased to exasperate the minds and to wound the feelings of the people; while his own exemplary conduct, and the regularity which distinguished his court, gained their affections, leading them to hope for the continuance of domestic tranquillity, and for the blessings result-

* Sadler's letter to Henry, dated 9th April, 1543, which throws much light upon the original religious sentiments of Arran, at least upon those which he entertained when he assumed the regency.

ing from being at peace with neighbouring nations.*

CHAP.
III.

1543.
Not lasting.

These fair appearances, however, were unfortunately deceitful; the elements of dissension were concealed, but they were secretly acquiring fresh strength. The jarring interests, and the exasperated passions of opposing parties, soon created the most disastrous troubles; while the violence, the rashness, and the injustice of Henry, alienated from him the esteem of those who were sincerely attached to an union with England, and thus deprived him of the power of accomplishing the marriage which would, in all probability, have nearly exterminated faction, and prevented the sorrows that embittered the future life of the Scottish queen.

The countenance which had been so decidedly given to the reformation, excited the fears and the jealousy of the whole clerical order; and the disappointment of the cardinal, with regard to the regency, combined with the indignation which his imprisonment could not fail to kindle, rendered him peculiarly solicitous to thwart the governor, and to re-establish himself in that power, which he had so long enjoyed. His views coincided with those which, from her descent and her education, the queen-dowager naturally entertained. She therefore joined her influence with that of Beaton: and even amidst her insincere, though strong expres-

Intrigues of
the Queen-
Dowager
and the
Cardinal.

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 72. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I.

CHAP.
III.

1543.

sions of regard for Henry, and of anxiety for the marriage of her daughter with his son, she laboured to procure the freedom of the prelate, and endeavoured, with considerable art, to render Sadler instrumental in effectuating it. From her assiduous endeavours, from the reluctance of Arran to exasperate him, or from the judicious application of his own wealth in bribing those who guarded him, the cardinal, notwithstanding the assurances which had been repeatedly given, that his confinement would terminate only with his life, was soon restored to liberty.*

April.

His artful
policy.

This penetrating and dexterous politician easily discerned, that the manner in which Henry had proposed the marriage, and the conditions which he had annexed to the treaty, were very inconsistent with that liberality by which he should have been actuated; were in fact so offensive that, if properly exhibited, they could not fail to awaken in Scotland the ancient prejudices against England, and to involve in unpopularity the governor, who had not met them with the firmest resistance. Far indeed from displaying the generosity and the confidence, which alone could conciliate the affections of a fierce and high-spirited people, the English sovereign had assumed the stern language of a con-

Opposes
the Govern-
or.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 282. Mackenzie's *Lives of Beaton and Queen Mary*, in Vol. III. of his Works, p. 22, 243. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 13. Keith, B. i. ch. 3, and note at p. 39. Sadler's Letters, particularly of the 2d, 9th, and 12th of April.

queror ; had originally required terms, to which the depression of the most signal defeat could scarcely have forced compliance ; and had, even after he perceived his error, shewn a distrust and a haughtiness, converting it into a duty of patriotism to resist a scheme, which, considered in itself, every patriot would have delighted to carry into execution.

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III.

1543.

Beaton, supported by the queen-dowager, and by those of the nobility who had not relinquished the communion of the church, addressed himself to that love of freedom, and to that honourable pride, which his countrymen, for ages, had cherished. He represented the proposals of England as more to be dreaded than her arms, and counteracted the motives which had led multitudes to abandon France, that they might unite themselves more closely with their southern neighbours. Reasons, sufficiently plausible, which, long after this period, in an age when their fallacy might have been expected to be more apparent, deeply agitated the public mind, were now artfully stated and powerfully enforced. The ignominy and degradation of becoming a province of England, were drawn in the most striking colours ; while the distance of France, the steadiness and cordiality of friendship which, in every season of danger, she had shewn, and the deep interest which she had in preserving the attachment of a nation, by means of which she could controul the continental exertions of the English monarchs,

CHAP. were speciously urged to shew, that the renewal of
 III. that alliance with her, which had endured for ages,
 1543. would secure the liberty, and advance the prosperity of Scotland.*

Numbers readily listened to what was so much in harmony with the prepossessions which they had inherited from their fathers; the connexion with England soon became odious, and was daily viewed with increasing detestation. The governor himself had mentioned to Sadler, that rather than accede to it in the form in which it was proposed, there was not a man or a boy in the country who would not lay down his life; and about the end of April, the Earl of Glencairn thus forcibly represented to the English minister the sentiments which were generally entertained respecting the adherents of his master: "We are already commonly hated here for his majesty's sake, and throughout called the English lords; and such ballads and songs are made upon us as never were heard; how that English angels had corrupted us, so that we have almost lost the hearts of the common people of this realm, and be also suspected of the governor and the nobility of the same."†

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 282, 283. Mackenzie's *Life of Beaton*, in Vol. III. of his *Lives*, p. 22. Keith, p. 30. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 73.

† Sadler's letter to Henry, dated the 26th April, 1543. It is necessary for all who wish to be thoroughly acquainted with this period of the Scottish history, carefully to peruse the letters of the English re-

The abilities of the party attached to the English monarch, assisted by his minister, and by the wisdom of the general policy which they recommended, might, and probably would, have gradually counteracted the sophistry of Beaton and his faction, had Henry acted with any regard to prudence and to justice. But, with astonishing infatuation, he defeated the efforts of his friends, and gave to his enemies advantages, which talents, infinitely inferior to those possessed by the cardinal, could not have failed in turning with complete effect against him.

CHAP.
III.

1543.
Impolitic
conduct of
Henry.

After the treaty of peace had been signed by the commissioners of both nations, and, with accustomed formality, been proclaimed, the Scottish merchants, whose commerce had long been fettered by war, fitted out a number of vessels, and dispatched them to foreign countries. Having encountered a storm, the commanders ventured to take shelter in the nearest harbours of England; but after receiving some civilities, they were prevented from proceeding on their voyage, and their rich cargoes were at length confiscated.*

August.

Such a shameful infractions of every principle of honour and of good faith, for the two months al-

sident. The republication of them, with the addition of other parts of his negotiations, which is soon to take place, under the inspection of Mr Clifford, will extend the perusal of them.—The work was published soon after the first edition of this History.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 282. Knox, B. i. p. 35–37. Mackenzie's Life of Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 242, 243. Keith, B. i. ch. iii. p. 31, 32. Sailer's Letters, particularly those dated 25th August and 24th September.

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1543.

lowed for the ratification of the treaties were not elapsed, excited in Scotland universal indignation. To the remonstrances made by the government of that nation, the most frivolous or contemptuous answers were returned; and from this period the conviction became universal, that no reliance could be placed upon the sincerity, or even upon the most solemn professions of England. The feeble attempts which have been made to justify Henry, by those of our historians who were inclined to associate with his conduct the cause of the reformation, only aggravate its folly or enormity; while the modesty with which Keith declines to express what were plainly his real sentiments, rests upon a deference to royalty, which should be rejected with scorn by all who value as they ought the true dignity of a sovereign, and the liberties of their fellow-creatures.*

Beaton
takes ad-
vantage of
it.

Beaton instantly profited by what was so admirably adapted to give efficacy to his representations. While he professed that he was determined to concur in the treaties, he alarmed the fears of the nobility, from whom the hostages required were to be taken; urged them to reflect upon the danger to which, by delivering these hostages, the most illustrious families would be exposed; and succeeded in exciting such distrust of Henry, that it was

* Buchanan, p. 283. Knox, p. 37. Keith, p. 31. Sadler's Letters. Mackenzie, as last quoted. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. V. p. 249-251.

almost unanimously determined that this condition of the treaty should not be fulfilled.*

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1543

The popular fury was now indeed so strongly directed against the English alliance, that the most unwarrantable and criminal indignities were offered to the ambassador. But although he was in danger even of life, he conducted himself with the utmost coolness and discretion, resolved that no retaliation or violence on his part should furnish the slightest apology for a breach of the treaties with his master. When the period of delivering the hostages arrived, he applied to the governor for the execution of what had been so solemnly agreed to be done ; and he took that opportunity of remonstrating against the outrages, which, in violation of the law of nations, had been committed. Arran sincerely bewailed the turbulence that had occasioned them ; but respecting the hostages, he frankly stated that he had not the power to deliver them ; that they would not voluntarily surrender themselves ; and that, in the present state of men's minds, irritated by the representations of the cardinal, he would in vain attempt to procure them by force. So thoroughly was Sadler convinced of the truth of this statement, that although he must have seen from it, that all the schemes which he had been sent to promote would prove abortive, he did not harass the governor by repeating the request.†

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 282. Sadler's letter to the lords of his majesty's council, dated 15th September.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 283. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 73. From

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1543.

The cardinal having been so far successful, addressed himself even to those lords whom Henry, by his bounty, and by the strongest obligations, had attempted firmly to attach to his interest.

It has been already mentioned, that, when the prisoners received liberty to return to Scotland, they gave sureties, that if they failed in accomplishing the objects for which they had been dismissed, they would, upon being required, immediately surrender themselves. Every motive which can operate upon generous minds conspired to determine them to redeem the pledges which had been required from them. Their honour, which, to persons of their rank, ought to have appeared peculiarly sacred, was at stake; and the friends, who, for their emancipation, had consented to leave their country, had the most obvious right to demand that they should not be left in captivity. But men, who had not hesitated to betray their native land, or who did not scrupulously examine how far the measures, which they bound themselves to support, might destroy its independence, could break the most sacred promise. They listened with complacency to the arguments by which their understandings were insidiously assailed; and yielding to their wishes, or, as they perhaps flattered themselves, to their conviction, they resolved to remain in Scotland, and to expose their sureties to

Sadler's letters of the 21st of July, the 6th and 15th of September, it is plain that his residence in Edinburgh was attended with much hazard.

the violence and the tyranny of a cruel and an exasperated monarch.

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III.

1543.

It is delightful, amidst such unworthy conduct, to behold the dignity and the intrepidity of virtue. There was, for the honour of Scotland, one illustrious exception to the general resolution. The Earl of Cassillis, the guest of Cranmer, thought with indignation upon the treachery to which he was exhorted. His sense of honour, and his affection for his two brothers, who had cheerfully gone to England to relieve him, led him at once to decide upon returning; he firmly declared that he would surrender himself to captivity, and that no reward or no danger should make him secure his own life by the sacrifice of theirs. This generosity of sentiment, which contrast with the baseness of the other lords renders more conspicuous, made a suitable impression upon Henry, and he nobly gave liberty both to Cassillis and his hostages.*

But the cardinal had not rested his scheme, of ^{Earl of} Lennox.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 283. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 213. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. I. Rapin's History of England, Vol. I. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 381. The return of Cassillis probably took place after the parliament in December, which disannulled the treaties with England; but the lamentable neglect of chronological accuracy has thrown much obscurity over this period of our history. Sadler, in his letter to Lord Suffolk, &c. dated 24th August, mentions, that it was thought that divers of the prisoners would not enter, as the Lord Haining, the Lord Oliphant, &c. and the governor, considered these men as having no regard to their faith and honour. Haining had decidedly joined the cardinal's party.—Letter, 10th of August.

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III.

1543.

regaining the chief influence in Scotland, merely upon his knowledge of the unreasonableness and precipitation of the English monarch. Soon after he had been delivered from confinement, he determined, with the consent of the queen-dowager, to perplex and alarm the governor, by raising up a rival, through whom he might either deprive Arran of the regency, or compel him to submit to his direction.

Mathew Stuart, Earl of Lennox, had been educated in France. His prepossessing manners, his numerous accomplishments, and his intrepid bravery, had endeared him to the French king; whilst the memory of his father, who had been beloved in Scotland, the calamities of his family, and his extensive connexion with the most elevated of the nobility, rendered him an object of esteem and admiration in his native country. He was descended from the royal family; and it was even believed, that the late king had intended to nominate him as the successor to the crown, in the event of his having no son. This circumstance alone would have rendered him a formidable antagonist to Arran, and the effect of it was increased by family resentment; the father of Lennox having been killed by one of the Hamiltons, when attempting to rescue his sovereign from the yoke of Douglas.*

* Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 444. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 283. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 213. Keith's History, B. i. ch. 3.

The cardinal, fully acquainted with all these facts, earnestly solicited his return to Scotland ; and that he might more certainly induce him to relinquish the bright prospects which the regard of Francis had opened to him, he flattered him with the hope of obtaining the queen-dowager in marriage, of succeeding to the regency, of acquiring the honours and the fortune of the governor himself ; and, if the infant queen should not survive, of being seated upon the throne.*

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1543.

The sanguine mind of the youthful Lennox was captivated by what was so well adapted to inflame his ambition. Little accustomed to the intrigues of courts, and a stranger to the duplicity by which artful men delude those whom they seek to bend to their views, he had no doubt that the cardinal was sincere, and had secured the objects, the attainment of which he had promised. Having asked permission to visit Scotland, Francis, to whom the most pressing applications on this subject had been made by the queen-dowager and Beaton, and who had been

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 283-4. Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 213. Lindsay of Pittscottie, p. 181. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 73 and 74. Keith, B. i. ch. 3. Both Arran and Lennox were grandsons of the Princess Mary, daughter of James II. ; but the father of the governor, after being divorced from his first wife, married the mother of Arran. It was therefore contended, by the friends of Lennox, that as the divorce was unjust, and the former wife still alive, the governor was illegitimate, and Lennox the real representative of the family of Hamilton. Crawford's Peerage, quoted by Robertson. Keith, in a note to p. 30th of his History.

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1543.

convinced by them, that he would thus strengthen his own interest in a country so long allied to his kingdom, not only gave his consent, but authorized Lennox to convey assurances of cordial assistance and support.*

April.

Upon his arrival he waited on the governor, assumed the appearance of the utmost regard for him, and gave him general assurances that he would subscribe the acts of parliament, by which Arran had been declared the second person in the kingdom, and governor during the queen's minority. He then repaired to the queen-dowager and the cardinal, by both of whom he was most courteously received. Having assembled his friends, he explained to them his intentions; and when he had gotten from them the strongest expressions of attachment, he declared his resolution to adhere to the party which acted with Beaton, and was hostile to the English alliance.†

May.

But the cardinal had still another engine which he directed against the governor. He knew that the bounty of Henry had procured the assistance of many of the nobles, and that it was necessary for him to have recourse to a similar method before he could attach to him the needy or the covetous. He therefore called an assembly of the clergy, and pointed out to them how much they had to apprehend

* Buchanan, Leslie, Holinshed, as quoted in last page. Sadler's Letters.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 284.

CHAP.

III.

1543.

from the successful issue of the negotiations with England ; and he so prevailed upon their fears or their zeal, that they furnished a large contribution from the revenues of the church, and entrusted him with the power of employing it, as he judged most expedient, for defending the fabric of ecclesiastical polity from the enemies by which it was assailed.*

From all these causes, the cardinal saw his influence daily increasing. Even the protestants ceased to feel that ardour for a connexion with England, which their religious principles had at first inspired. The books which Henry had published, except in so far as they militated against the supremacy of the pope, were not approved by them ; and they yielded to those feelings of indignation at the arrogance of this monarch which had become almost universal.†

The cardinal, with his usual discernment, perceived that nothing would afford him such a decisive advantage over the English party, as the possession of the young queen ; and as the governor, with unaccountable indolence or neglect, had, not-

Queen carried to Stirling.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 282. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 73. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 181. Keith, B. i. ch. 3. Sadler's Letters, in May.

† Sadler's letter to the lords of the privy-council, dated 17th Aug. 1543. In that letter he says, " to signify the plain truth, I see not that the books are much liked of any party here—as to restraint upon reading Scripture, the professors of God's word be much offended at the same."

CHAP. III. withstanding the earnest remonstrances of Sadler,
 1543. permitted her to remain at Linlithgow, Beaton,
 July. afraid that he might see his error, collected a considerable force, which, commanded by Huntly and Lennox, succeeded in conveying her, with her mother, to Stirling, the castle of which belonged to the dowager, and was completely under her command.*

The governor now manifested that indecision of mind which constituted so marked a feature in his character. He viewed, with much solicitude, his decaying popularity; was apprehensive of Lennox, and was probably in secret disgusted with the imperious language, and the interested views of Henry; while a cause still more powerful inclined him to adopt a new line of policy, and to unite himself with those whom he had at first strenuously resisted.

John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, his natural brother, a man of considerable talents, and who had great ascendancy over the mind of Arran, had returned from France to Scotland about the same time with the Earl of Lennox. Firmly persuaded of the wisdom of cultivating the favour of the French king, and warmly attached to the interests of the church, he soon attempted to instil into his brother the same sentiments. He enforced them by representing to him, that, as his legitimacy cer-

* Leslie, B. x. p. 444. Buchanan represents this as having taken place with the consent of both parties, which was not the case. Keith, p. 30. Knox, p. 37. Sadler's Letters, July and August.

tainly depended upon the validity of a divorce, which had been sanctioned by the pope, it was wisdom in him not to destroy the authority of the pontiff, with the existence of which his own dignity and fortune were so intimately connected.* These representations succeeded in weakening the governor's zeal for the reformation. He dismissed from his family Williams and Rough, who were decided protestants; and, through the abbot, who lived in the friendship and the confidence of Beaton, he frequently, in the course of the summer, made, to that artful opponent, overtures of union or reconciliation.†

CHAP.
III.
1542.

Still, however, his engagements with the English monarch pressed upon his recollection and his conscience. Naturally honourable, he shrunk from the idea of not fulfilling them; and he accordingly, with every religious solemnity, and in presence of Henry's ambassador, ratified the treaties. To convince Sadler of his sincerity, he went to St Andrews that afternoon, that he might receive the submission of the cardinal, which that prelate had repeatedly, though most insincerely offered.‡ Beaton, however, was now too confident of his strength,

Regent
ratifies the
treaties
with Eng-
land.

Aug. 25th.

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 443, 444. Keith, B. i. ch. iv. p. 39. Knox, B. i. p. 36. Crawford's Lives, p. 376. Spottiswoode's Hist. B. ii. p. 72, 73. Sadler's Letters.

† Knox, B. i. p. 36, 37. Sadler's letter to Henry, 22d April, 1543.

‡ Sadler's letter, 25th Aug. Keith, B. i. ch. 3.

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III.

1543.

and too certain of what would be the result of the governor's indecision, to feel uneasiness at his approach. With the most grating contempt, he remained in his castle, refusing to pay to the representative of his sovereign any mark of reverence or respect; and Arran, compelled to submit to such indignity, having denounced him as a rebel, returned to Edinburgh to raise forces against him.* That the regent was sincere in this resolution, the great change in his sentiments, which took place within a few days, certainly renders somewhat doubtful. Sadler, who had been fully persuaded of his fair intentions, both in ratifying the treaties, and in the steps which he took against Beaton, was perplexed, and his opinion of Arran's integrity was shaken.† It is not improbable, however, that the indecent rudeness with which he had been treated, shewed him, in the strongest light, the danger of longer resisting a faction now so powerful; and thus conspired with the unwearied injunctions of his brother, to hasten the decision upon which he had often and anxiously meditated.

Attaches
himself to
the cardinal.

On the third of September he left Edinburgh, under pretence of visiting his wife, who was at the castle of Blackness. At Callender he was met by Beaton and the Earl of Murray, and next day went

* Sadler has given a very full account of this journey to St Andrews, and of the disrespectful conduct of the cardinal. See letter dated 28th of August.

† Sadler's letter, as last quoted.

with them to Stirling. He there united himself to the dowager and her party ; abjured, in the church of the Franciscans, the protestant religion ; received from the cardinal absolution for the zeal with which he had promoted it ; and assisted at the coronation of the young queen, which took place a few days after his arrival.*

CHAP.

III.

1548.

The administration of Arran may, from this time, be considered as suspended ; for although the title of governor was continued, he was completely under subjection to the cardinal, and to the council, which was elected to controul or to direct his government. His apostasy lost him the esteem of all classes of men. His former friends felt for him the contempt to which versatile conduct ever gives rise, and he was not trusted or respected by the cardinal, although he sought to ingratiate himself

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 284. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 445. Knox, B. i. p. 37. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 74. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 215. Keith, B. i. ch. iii. p. 31, 32. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 181. Mackenzie's Life of Queen Mary, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 242. Sadler's letter to Henry, dated 5th September. There are different dates assigned for the coronation of the queen. Pitcottie says, it took place on the 20th August ; Mackenzie, upon the 4th September, the very day on which Arran arrived at Stirling. Both these writers are wrong. In a letter written by the cardinal, Huntly, Argyle, &c. to the Earl of Angus, inviting him to attend the coronation, they mention that it was to take place on Sunday the ninth of September. Sadler, in his letter to the king, dated 6th September, mentions that it was to be the Sunday following, that is the 9th ; and, in his letter of the 11th, he informs his majesty, that the young queen was crowned at Stirling on Sunday last.

CHAP.
III.1543.
Cardinal's
conduct to
the Earl of
Lennox.

with that ambitious prelate, by the most abject submission to the measures which he prescribed.*

The French party having now acquired a decided ascendancy, were anxious to free themselves from the Earl of Lennox, whose hopes they had no intention to gratify; and Beaton, without compunction, agreed to sacrifice him. Representations, with respect to him, of the most unfavourable nature, were made to the French king, which, supported as they were by the house of Guise, alienated from the gallant youth the affection of Francis. Lennox was now received at court with coldness or contempt, and his indignant spirit prompted him to act in a manner, which, however common at that period, cannot be justified. He relinquished his country, throwing himself into the arms of England; and he obtained from Henry the honour and distinction which had, in Scotland, been so cruelly and so unjustly denied to him.†

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 284. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 74. Keith, Book i. ch. iii. p. 31.

† Buchanan, p. 285-287. Leslie, p. 448. Spottiswoode, p. 74. Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 218. Keith, p. 35, 36. Pitscottie, p. 183. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 246. In Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XV., there is inserted a treaty or convention between Henry and the Earls of Lennox and Glencairn, in which, amongst other articles, they engage to serve the king of England to the utmost of their power; to endeavour to put the queen of Scotland into his hands, and to have him declared protector of her kingdom. Henry, on his part, bound himself to make Lennox governor of Scotland under certain conditions, and in the event of Mary's death, to support his title to the crown in preference to that of Arran. This convention is dated at Carlisle, 17th

I have thus particularly traced this singular revolution in the mind of Arran, and in the state of public sentiment in Scotland, not so much from its exhibiting, very strongly, the political talents of Beaton, and the unsettled principles even of the most illustrious of the Scottish nobility, both with respect to government and morality, as from an acquaintance with its progress and completion being necessary, for explaining the origin of that cruel persecution, which was so soon and so unexpectedly renewed. The final result of it to the cardinal, with whom it originated, also forcibly teaches the short-sightedness of human policy, and how incapable we are to judge, with certainty, what will promote the objects which we are most desirous to accomplish.

May, 1544. There is a subsequent one, dated the 26th June, 1544, in which the earl binds himself more closely to the English monarch. From these conventions, it is apparent, that Lennox, in the height of his resentment, sought to attain the objects which had been set before him by the cardinal, even at the expence of his country's ruin. This conduct cannot be justified. There is a duty which we owe to our country, from which no personal neglect of those in power can exempt us. Were individual feeling to become the standard of patriotism, no government could exist, at least could exist in tranquillity, and accomplish the great objects for which all government was originally instituted.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

Arran shows his hostility to the Protestants. . . . Legate arrives in Scotland. . . . Contest between Beaton and the Archbishop of Glasgow. . . . Persecution recommenced. . . . Affecting cases of suffering. . . . Beaton confirms Arran in his new policy. . . . Assembly of the Clergy. . . . George Wishart ; His education and ministry. . . . The Cardinal alarmed at the success of his preaching. . . . His humanity ; Influenced partly by enthusiasm ; Illustrations of this ; He is apprehended. . . . Earl of Bothwell. . . . Wishart's trial ; He prepares to suffer ; His death ; Remarks upon his character and conduct. . . . Beaton becomes unpopular. . . . Scheme to assassinate him. . . . His assassination. . . . Different sentiments with regard to it. . . . Motives of the conspirators. . . . Estimate of the Cardinal's policy.

CHAP.
IV.

1543.

Arran
shows his
hostility to
the protes-
tants.

BEATON having now acquired the supreme power, without the envy which the title of governor would have excited against him, reverted to his favourite scheme of crushing the growing enmity to the established religion, and of strengthening the barriers which defended the church.

In a parliament which was held in December, for the purpose of setting aside the treaties with England, he required the governor to procure a law for the extirpation of heresy ; and Arran, either

15th Dec.

holding light the imputation of inconsistency, or anxious to give a public and decided proof of the sincerity of his conversion, brought forward a resolution, in which, after lamenting the increase of heretics, who taught damnable opinions, contrary to the faith and the laws of holy church, he exhorted all prelates, within their own dioceses and jurisdiction, to enquire after these persons, and to proceed against them according to the laws of the church; assuring the bishops, that he, the lord-governor, would be, at all times, ready to do what became his office; in other words, that he would sanction, by the civil authority, the shocking punishments which the prelates wished to be inflicted upon all who opposed them.*

CHAP.
IV.

1543.

About this period a legate had arrived from the pope. He had no public commission respecting the church, but he had received instructions to co-

October,
Legate ar-
rives in
Scotland.

* Keith has given, from the records of parliament, this act against the abettors of heresy, in Book i. ch. 4. of his History of Scotland.—It is extremely probable that the permission to read the Scriptures was withdrawn at this time, for the cardinal must have been sensible how much that permission militated against the interests of the church. I stated, in the first edition of the work, that this was actually the case; but although I think that it is implied in the resolution against heresy, yet, as it has not been expressly mentioned, I have expunged the assertion from the text. Keith mentions, that some persons at Perth were, after the regent had joined the cardinal, prosecuted upon this law, because they had violated the clause forbidding the lieges to dispute about the sense of Scripture. If this was the case, the cardinal must have been convinced that, from the framing of the law, he would render it as effectual as a prohibition to read the Scriptures. They were thus, then, at least virtually prohibited.

CHAP.
IV.

1543.

operate with the French faction, and to make every exertion to prevent the marriage of the Scottish queen with the Prince of Wales.

The cardinal received him with the utmost reverence, and the most distinguished of the nobility sumptuously, and even ostentatiously, entertained him. He spent the winter in Scotland; and he left it, delighted with the hospitality which had been shewn to him, and with the courteous manners which he had unexpectedly witnessed.*

During his residence in the kingdom, the pride of Beaton was wounded by the pretensions of the archbishop of Glasgow. The cardinal having attended the legate to that city, claimed, as primate of Scotland, precedence of the archbishop. To this, in his own cathedral, the prelate was unwilling to submit. In the eagerness of both to maintain their dignity, a struggle took place, and the cross, carried before the primate, was thrown to the ground. The governor was compelled to interfere, and he restored the peace which these men, professing to be the ministers of humanity and peace, had so indecently interrupted.†

But the cardinal was soon to acquire the applauses of the sacred order, by his unrelenting persecution of all who had the audacity to vilify its purity, or to undermine its influence. At what

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 448, 449. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 216, 218, and 219. Keith, Book i. ch. iv. p. 40. Sadler's Letters. These writers differ about the name of the legate—a matter of no importance.

† Leslie and Holinshed, as last quoted.

period he commenced the execution of his sanguinary scheme, it is difficult exactly to ascertain. The chronology of our ancient writers is often imperfect and erroneous, but this date is involved by them in almost impenetrable obscurity. Their minds were too deeply impressed with the melancholy facts which they related, to be occupied with what they did not conceive to be essential for exhibiting the enormity which they held forth to detestation; and they have thus so perplexed the history, even of their own days, that the most patient investigation may often fail in unravelling its intricacy.*

CHAP.
IV.
1545.

It appears certain, however, that a considerable time elapsed from the publication of the act which has been mentioned, before Beaton began to exercise the power which it conveyed to him; and the reason of this is very obvious. Although he had secured the governor, his own authority was far from being firmly established. The Earl of Lennox, exasperated at the manner in which the prime had acted towards him, united with the barons attached to Henry; he raised forces, and, although he did not display consummate talents as a general, he excited much apprehension in the opposite party. This apprehension was soon increased by new

* Knox, Book i. p. 40, honestly acknowledged this. After mentioning some fact, the date of which he considered as doubtful, he makes this observation: "Neither yet study we to be curious, but rather we travel to express the verity, whensoever it was done, than scrupulously and exactly to appoint the times, which yet we omit not, when the certainty occurs."

CHAP.
IV.

1545.

and vigorous hostilities on the part of England, occasioned by the parliamentary disannulling of the treaties which the governor had so solemnly ratified, and by the measures which were taken to renew the alliance with France.*

Persecution
re-commen-
ced.

But the cardinal had no sooner been delivered from his fears, by the success with which the efforts of Scotland to defeat the attempts of Henry had been accompanied, and by the cordiality with which even the Earl of Angus, now disgusted with the English monarch, united to defeat them,† than his inveteracy against the reformers was manifested by acts of cruelty, which humanity shudders to record, and which fix a stain upon his memory, that no talents and no virtue could obliterate.

Affecting
cases of
suffering.

Accompanied by the governor, who certainly could have no satisfaction in making a journey, in every respect so degrading to him, he visited different parts of his diocese, and attempted to strike dread into all who were hostile to the church.‡ At

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 446. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 287, 288. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 220, 221. Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XIV. Keith, B. i. ch. iii. p. 34-36, and Appendix to Book i. Nos. 6, 7.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 289, 290. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 455. The victory at Ancram Moor was obtained on the 17th Feb. 1545. The Earl of Angus fought with great bravery against the English. He might have prevented many calamities to his country had he sooner exerted himself for its independence.

‡ Knox fixes the events, now to be recorded, in Jan. 1544, and Fox, in his *Martyrology*, does the same. Keith, however, renders it highly probable, in a note to p. 40 of his *History*, that this is an error, and that Buchanan is accurate in assigning them to the end of 1545,

Perth four men were accused; one of them for having interrupted a friar, who taught, that a man could not be saved without praying to the saints, the other three for having treated disrespectfully the image of a saint, and eaten flesh upon a day on which the use of it had been forbidden by the pope. For these venial offences, which were considered, however, as undoubted indications of heresy, they were condemned to suffer death; and Arran, notwithstanding the most earnest solicitations for mercy, ratified the dreadful sentence. A similar fate was assigned to another man, only because he had kept company with the persons who had been declared guilty; and the wife of one of the four was sentenced to be drowned, because, when in the agony of labour, she had refused to invoke the virgin Mary,

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IV.

1545.

probably December.—See Buchanan, Lib. xv. under that year. Mr Scot, the venerable author of the Lives of the Scottish reformers, in some very candid remarks which he published on this History, (Christian Instructor, Vol. III. No. 6.) has given the strongest reasons for concluding, that, notwithstanding the assertion of Buchanan, and the ingenuity of Keith, the date assigned by Knox is correct. After stating the grounds upon which he had acquiesced in the accuracy of Knox, he adds, “What still more shews the certainty of the date is, that the change of the magistrates of Perth in favour of popery, which was ordered by the Lord Governor and Lords of Secret Council, and which happened on the day in which the martyrs were put to death, is stated by the records of the town as having taken place January 26, 1543-4. If in these records the day upon which the unfortunate people suffered is specified to be the same on which the magistrates were changed, which is said to be the 26th January 1543-4, the point is quite settled; and it appears that Beaton lost no time in acting upon the new law.”

CHAP. affirming that she would pray to God alone, in the
IV. name of Jesus Christ.

1545.

The circumstances attending the last scene of this unfortunate woman's life, must move every heart from which the best feelings of our nature have not been eradicated. Warmly attached to her husband, with whom she had enjoyed some years of uninterrupted domestic happiness, she implored that they might die together. This affecting request having been barbarously refused, she soothed, by the most impressive consolations, his departing moments ; and after witnessing his execution, she prepared for her own. The tenderness of a parent agitated her mind. She entreated her neighbours to shew humanity to her children ; and, to complete her anguish, she took from her bosom the infant whom she suckled, and gave it to the nurse whom she had provided. Yet all this did not overpower her fortitude, or shake her faith ; she rose superior to her sufferings, and she died with courage and with comfort.*

Such facts, while they shew the fatal tendency of bigotry, or of ambition under the mask of zeal, to corrupt the human heart, and to destroy the feelings most intimately interwoven with our constitution, should also forcibly teach the elevating operation of sincere piety. The religious principle, when called

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 291. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 75. Knox, B. i. p. 40. Mackenzie's Life of Beaton, in Vol. III. of his Lives p. 22, 23.

into action, gives a heroism and a magnanimity to the character, which the abstract dictates of reason have seldom or never created. CHAP.
IV.
1545.

To regard, then, with indifference or with contempt, a cause which thus powerfully influences moral and intellectual beings, is as unworthy of true philosophy as it is repugnant to benevolence. The very errors into which it may betray those who are guided by it, should only more thoroughly illustrate the importance of giving to it a right direction, and of making every exertion, to disseminate the knowledge of the sublime doctrines, and the pure precepts of rational religion.

The cardinal was not satiated with the cruelty which, in the commencement of his progress, he had exercised. He caused numbers to be banished; and he proceeded with the governor, and the nobility and prelates of his retinue, to examine the state of the counties of Angus and Mearns. Multitudes in these counties were summoned before him, because they were in the practice of reading the New Testament, a crime which the zealous advocates of popery were most unwilling to pardon, and against which, many even of the clergy were peculiarly zealous, from a persuasion, which, however astonishing, was certainly at this time very prevalent, that the only scripture given by God was the Old Testament, and that the New, the code of Christians, had been composed by Luther.* It

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 291. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 75, 76. Jortin's Life of Erasmus. It is evident, from what is mentioned above,

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1545.

does not appear, however, that any capital punishments were inflicted. It is probable, that, submissive as Arran was, he shrunk from dooming men to death, for that which, a short time before, he had authorized all the lieges to do ; and the cardinal was too wise to risk any dissension, when the apparent necessity of his affairs did not justify the hazard.

But although life was spared, the enjoyment of it was interrupted or destroyed, for numbers were dragged from their occupations and their families to languish in confinement. John Roger, a Dominican, who had distinguished himself by his activity in preaching, and who had become most acceptable to those whom he instructed, was carried to the castle of St Andrews. Soon after, he was either inhumanly murdered in his dungeon, and then cast over the precipice, upon the summit of which the castle is situated ; or, which is perhaps more probable, he lost his life by a fall, when he was attempting to make his escape.*

Beaton confirms Arran in his new policy.

In this unprincipled attempt to overawe, or to exterminate the enemies of the church, the cardinal was occupied till the approach of Christmas, when he returned to St Andrews with the governor, whom he had invited to visit him during the holidays. The object of this invitation was more thoroughly to confirm his influence over Arran ;

that the old laws, prohibiting the reading of Scripture, were by this time again in force.

* Knox, B. i. p. 40, 41. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 76.

for although, to diminish the hazard of any new revolution in the sentiments of the regent, the primate had artfully got into his possession that nobleman's eldest son, he was still under some apprehension, that even this would not be sufficient to secure him, and that the solicitations, or the artifices of his former friends, might induce him to transfer to them his favour as suddenly as it had been withdrawn. To guard against this as effectually as he could, Beaton entertained him with princely magnificence, made him many valuable presents, with ample promises of future gifts, and arranged with him various schemes connected with the administration of the kingdom.*

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IV.
1543.

Depraved as the cardinal himself was, and scandalous as were his irregularities and his intemperance, he was fully aware that the same vices in the great body of the clergy had powerfully contributed to increase the evil which he felt such anxiety to remove. That his ecclesiastical plans, therefore, might have at least some appearance of regard to reformation, he summoned an assembly of the clergy to meet at Edinburgh, in the commencement of the following year, for devising effectual methods to extirpate heresy, to support the rights and the independence of the church, and to restrain the licentiousness of clergymen, which gave so great

Assembly
of Clergy.
1546.
13th Jan.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 292. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 230. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 187.

CHAP. scandal, and afforded to the people so good a pre-
IV. tence for deserting the ancient religion.*

1546.

Whether any remedy for the last of these evils was proposed, has not been recorded. It is probable that the priesthood felt much coldness with regard to this object of their meeting, and that they gladly adjourned the consideration of it, in consequence of being informed that Wishart, one of the most eminent and successful of the protestant teachers, whom the cardinal had been long desirous to apprehend, was then in East Lothian, and might be secured.†

George
Wishart.

As the fate of Wishart had a great effect upon the progress of the reformation, and the general situation of Scotland, every thing respecting him becomes peculiarly interesting; and it is of importance, for fully understanding the events which his death occasioned, to give a particular account of his history, and to endeavour to appreciate his conduct, and his character.

His educa-
tion and
ministry.

He was descended from an ancient and respectable family, who possessed the estate of Pittarrow, in the county of Kincardine or Mearns, and had, probably, under his paternal roof, imbibed his at-

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 292. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 76. Keith, B. i. ch. iv. p. 41.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 292. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 76. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 231. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 188. Keith, B. i. ch. iv. p. 41.

tachment to the principles of the reformers.* He taught for some time in his early life the school of

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1546.

* John Wishart, the laird of Pittarrow, took, some years after this, an active part in promoting the reformation; and it is probable that the zeal in this cause, which the death of George Wishart had excited or strengthened, continued to distinguish the descendants of his family. Two or three years ago, the old mansion-house of Pittarrow was pulled down. Upon removing the wainscot from the great hall, there were discovered, upon the walls of the room, in a state of complete preservation, several beautiful paintings, of the existence of which no tradition remained. Before I heard of this, although only two miles from the place, the whole had been destroyed; but my friend, the Reverend Doctor Leslie, minister of Fordoun, the parish in which the house was situated, was more fortunate. He got a short view of them, and he has most obligingly favoured me with the account of them, which he wrote. Of one of the paintings, he says, "above the largest fire-place in the great hall, was a painting of the city of Rome, and a grand procession going to St Peter's. The colours were very vivid. They had been preserved from all injury by the wainscot with which the walls of the room were covered. The pope, adorned with the tiara, and mounted on horseback, was attended by a large company of cardinals on foot richly dressed, but all uncovered. At a little distance, directly in front of the procession, stood a beautiful white palfrey, finely caparisoned, held by some persons who were well dressed, but uncovered. Beyond them was the cathedral of St Peter, the doors of which appeared to be open. Below the picture were written the following lines:

"IN PAPAM.

Laus tua, non tua fraus, virtus non gloria rerum
Scandere te fecit hoc decus eximium;
Pauperibus dat sua gratis nec munera curat
Curia Papalis, quod more percipimus.—
Hæc carmina potius legenda, cancos imitando."

It is impossible now to discover when these paintings were executed, and I am not certain whether the verses have not been before published. They were probably at the time extensively circulated amongst the protestants. I have thought it right to insert these facts, both from their curiosity, and because they shew that, at whatever time the painting was made, the possessors of the mansion had no

CHAP.
IV.
1548.

Montrose, and feeling the most ardent love of literature, he afterwards went to Cambridge, and completed his studies at that celebrated university.* His original sentiments were confirmed by the example and the information of those with whom he there associated, and he returned to his native country with the resolution of disseminating the leading tenets which the protestants had embraced. He brought, to the discharge of this interesting duty, a mind cultivated by science. The respectability of his birth, the amiableness of his manners, and the gracefulness of his elocution, arrested the attention of those whom he addressed, and inclined them to embrace the doctrines which he enforced.†

But he was chiefly indebted for the eminent success which crowned his labours, to the purity of his morals, the fervour of his sanctity, and the enlarged benevolence by which he was actuated. He

partiality for the pope, and attributed his exaltation to causes disgraceful to the occupiers of the Holy See.

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 76. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 204. Keith, B. i. ch. iv. p. 41, 42. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 458. Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 231. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 9, and Heylin, in his History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. and p. 144, mention, that Mr Wishart had travelled in Germany; Heylin says in France. Spottiswoode does not mention the circumstance, which he probably would have done, had he known it, and Knox is silent altogether respecting Wishart's early history. From one of Wishart's answers upon his trial, it is however evident that he had been in Germany. Knox's Hist. p. 86. Petrie's General History of the Christian Church, Part II. p. 182. This writer mentions only the fact, that Wishart had taught the school of Montrose; but it is likely that he also acquired at this seminary the elements of literature.

† Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 76. Knox's History, B. i. p. 43.

commenced his ministry at Montrose, in the neighbourhood of the place of his birth ; but soon leaving this, he went to Dundee, where his discourses excited the highest admiration.

CHAP.
IV.
1546.

In the unsettled state of men's minds, with respect to the established religion, the efforts of such a teacher, to overthrow it, must have been most formidable. The cardinal, whose vigilance never was remitted, beheld, with deep regret, the rapid and extensive desertion which Wishart daily created, and felt the utmost anxiety to arrest his exertions. By bribery or by terror, he prevailed upon one of the magistrates of Dundee to second his views ; and this man, after Wishart had concluded a sermon, prohibited him, in the name of the queen and the governor, from again troubling the town.* He received this order with expressions of pious zeal ; but he determined to obey it ; and notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the Earl Marischal, and of some other noblemen, that he would remain, he went to the western parts of Scotland.†

Alarms
Beaton.

His reputation and his diligence soon procured numerous followers ; again directed against him the inveteracy of the church, and made the archbishop of Glasgow resolve to apprehend him. The Earl of Glencairn having heard of this intention, hastened to countenance and support him, and offered to

* Knox's History, B. i. p. 43. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 76. MacKenzie's Life of Wishart, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 9.

† Knox, B. i. p. 43. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 76.

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IV.

1546.

place him in the pulpit of the church in which the bishop meant to preach against him. But he disapproved of whatever could be regarded as a violation of peace; he declined therefore the proposal of the earl, and addressed the people in the market-place. It was indeed his uniform practice to shun giving unnecessary offence; and this moderation, while it increased the attachment of his adherents, perplexed and astonished those by whom he was opposed.*

Wishart's
humanity.

When he was in the neighbourhood of Ayr, he received intelligence that a contagious distemper had proved very fatal in Dundee. He immediately went thither, that he might administer consolation to the sufferers. He strengthened their fortitude by the prospects which religion discloses; he prevented all unnecessary intercourse between the healthy and the sick; and he relieved the urgent wants of those, whose severe poverty rendered the visitation of disease doubly distressing. Such beneficence, alleviating to multitudes the severity of pain and the anguish of affliction, was repaid by the warmest gratitude; and the feelings with which he was now almost universally regarded, gave an energy to his instructions, which alike impressed the understanding and affected the heart.†

His enemies, afraid to have recourse to open vio-

* Knox, B. i. p. 43, 44. Spottiswood, p. 76. Mackenzie's Lives, Vol. III. p. 10.

† Knox and Spottiswoode, as last quoted.

lence, attempted to assassinate him. A priest, impelled, either by his own gloomy bigotry, or employed, as has, though without any sufficient authority, been surmised, by the cardinal, resolved to accomplish his destruction. For that purpose, the priest placed himself at the foot of the pulpit, concealing under his robe the dagger which he intended to employ. The agitation of his countenance, or the particularity of his appearance, happily fixed the attention of Wishart, and, with much presence of mind, he seized the hand which grasped the weapon. The criminal, dismayed at this intrepidity, fell at his feet, and acknowledged his guilt. The multitude were agitated and inflamed by such depravity, and they would at once have sacrificed him to their resentment, had not Wishart restrained their violence. He clasped the wretched priest in his arms, that he might ensure his protection, and then addressing himself to the people, he declared, that as he had escaped injury, the incident might be useful to him, by shewing, as it did, what he had to fear, and what the inveterate animosity, against which he had to struggle, would not scruple to perpetrate.*

The sincerity of Wishart's faith, and the virtue which he assiduously cultivated, entitle him to es-

Influenced
partly by
enthusiasm.

* Knox, Book i. p. 44, compared with Spottiswoode, Book ii. p. 77. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 205. Mackenzie's Life of Wishart, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 11.

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1546.

teem and veneration. It must not, however, be dissembled, that his religion was mingled with enthusiasm. This was the natural consequence of the circumstances in which he was placed. Deeply interested in enlightening mankind, constantly meditating upon the most sublime and mysterious doctrines of the gospel, and filled with perpetual apprehension that he would fall a sacrifice to the enmity of the cardinal, he sometimes mistook the anticipations of a troubled fancy for the inspiration of Heaven, and probably believed, what historians have asserted of him, that he was illuminated by the spirit of prophecy.*

Illustrations of this

Some parts of his conduct, and some declarations which he made in moments of deep agitation, must be ascribed to this conviction. Being upon one occasion at Montrose, a letter was delivered to him, intimating that one of his friends at a distance had been suddenly attacked by an alarming illness, and containing an earnest request that he would immediately come to him. His attachment to the man, and his general humanity, led him instantly to commence his journey; but he had proceeded only a very short way, when he said to those who accompanied him, "I am forbidden of God to go this journey; will some of you be pleased ride to yonder place, and see what you find, for I apprehend there is a plot against my life?" He returned to

* Knox, B. i. p. 43.

Montrose ; and his companions proceeding to the spot which he mentioned, saw sixty horsemen, who were lying in ambush to intercept him.*

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IV.
1546.

It is impossible to imagine that he had received any previous intimation of this plot ; because, if he had, his imputing his resolution to return to the suggestion of heaven, is incompatible with any regard to religion, and is at variance with the whole tenor of his sentiments and conduct. It is in the highest degree probable, that his persuasion of the cardinal's hatred had, from some accidental association of ideas, forcibly presented itself to his mind, that a suspicion had arisen of the authenticity of the letter, and that he marked out the particular place to which he pointed, from his perceiving that it was favourable for the execution of any scheme to seize or to destroy him. The verification of his fears would confirm the opinion which his belief of divine communications had led him to form ; and they who beheld him with reverence and esteem, would not be averse to think that he was under the peculiar protection of the Supreme Being.

But although this incident, and several others which have been recorded, establish the reality of his enthusiasm, his general sentiments of religion were the result of calm investigation ; the doctrines which he taught, and the precepts which he incul

* Knox, B. i. p. 49, 50. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 77. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 11. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 203.

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cated, equally evincing the vigour of his understanding and the purity of his faith.

His dread of Beaton became, towards the end of his life, so strong, that it seems to have kept him in a state of almost unceasing horror. He easily saw his danger, and even with all the strength of mind which he possessed, he could not constantly dwell upon it without depression. Of the final prevalence of the protestant religion in Scotland, he was however firmly convinced. He knew accurately the state of public opinion ; he saw that every additional act of cruelty weakened the cause which it was designed to support ; and accordingly, after declaring to those who were tenderly interested in his fate, that his troubles would soon be terminated by a violent death, he comforted them with the assurance, which, delivered as it was, with the most affecting solemnity, left no doubt upon their minds : " This realm will, after me, be illuminated with the light of Christ's gospel, as clearly as ever was any realm since the days of the Apostles."*

He is apprehended.

His terror of being speedily overtaken by the vengeance of the cardinal and the church was too well-founded. After having preached at Haddington, where he was greatly afflicted by the coldness and indifference of many, whom he had believed to

* Knox, B. ii. p. 50. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 78. The whole account of what happened when Wishart made the above declaration is very striking, and throws much light on the state of mind in which he was for some time before he suffered.

be much attached to the truth, and after having entertained the celebrated John Knox, who was eager to continue with him, to go back to his family, because one sacrifice was sufficient, he went to the house of Ormiston, attended by the proprietor and several other gentlemen. He spent the evening in pious exhortation, and in reflections upon the happiness reserved for good men in a better world. He had not long retired to rest, when a party, sent by the governor to arrest him, surrounded the house. Ormiston at first refused to deliver him; but the Earl of Bothwell, who was sheriff of the county, represented to him the uselessness of resistance, and the impossibility of Wishart's making his escape, as the regent and the cardinal were in the neighbourhood, and had taken every precaution to secure him. To remove completely Ormiston's honourable scruples, this nobleman then solemnly promised, that if he would deliver his guest to him, he should answer for his safety, and would put it out of the power of the cardinal to do him any harm.*

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IV.

1546.

Earl of
Bothwell.

Ormiston having reported to Wishart the declaration of Bothwell, that good man said, "God's will be done." He requested that the doors might be opened, and having come into Bothwell's presence,

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 292. Knox, B. i. p. 49. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 78. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 188. Mackenzie's Life of Wishart, in Vol. IIA of his Lives, p. 12. Row's MS. History. Wedrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 3.

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he thus addressed him : " My Lord, I praise God that so honourable a man as you are doth receive me this night before these noblemen ; for I am assured that, for your honour sake, you will not permit any thing to be done to me against the order of law. I am not ignorant that all the law, which they who seek my life use, is nothing but corruption, and a mask to shed the blood of God's saints ; yet, I less fear to die openly than to be murdered in secret." To this most interesting appeal the earl replied—" I shall not only preserve your body from violence, but I will promise you, in the presence of these gentlemen, upon my honour, that neither the governor nor the cardinal shall be able to harm you ; and that I shall keep you in my own power, till either I make you free, or bring you back to the place where I now receive you."*

After such a promise, strengthened by whatever could render it peculiarly sacred to a virtuous mind, Bothwell should, even at the expence of life, have defended and preserved the unhappy man to whom it was voluntarily given. The earl did make some feeble attempts to adhere to it. That he might have an excuse to satisfy his conscience, he at first refused to put him into the hands of the cardinal ; but his integrity did not long resist ; it was soon overcome by the entreaties of the queen-dowager,

* Knox, B. i. p. 49. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 78. Mackenzie's Life of Wishart, in Vol. III. p. 12. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 205. This Bothwell was father of the earl who afterwards married Queen Mary.

who acted in this case as the instrument of Beaton. So early as the nineteenth of January, only a day or two after the promise had been made, Bothwell appeared before the council, bound himself to deliver Wishart to the governor, or to any other person whom he should appoint, before the expiration of the month; and engaged in the mean time to keep the prisoner in custody, under pain of the highest punishment which could be inflicted.* Agreeably to this, Wishart was surrendered, and he was carried to the castle of St Andrews, from which escape was impossible.

I am willing to believe, that notwithstanding the too general prevalence of corruption in the present day, and the proverbial laxity of faith in which courtiers indulge, any man of rank who should now violate such a promise as that which Bothwell made, would be universally execrated, and would be banished from the society of all who had not cast aside even the appearance of principle. That nobleman had to encounter no such ignominy. It does not appear that he was afterwards less regarded, at least upon this account, than he had been before; and even the historians who record his baseness, have not stigmatized it with that

* Knox, B. i. p. 50. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 78. Pitscottie, p. 188. Keith, B. i. ch. 4, who has inserted the assurance given to the council. Mackenzie, with the design, I suppose, of palliating Bothwell's breach of faith, says it was a good long time before he would give Wishart up. The date of the assurance to the council shews the contrary.

CHAP. decisiveness of moral disapprobation, which they
IV. ought to have displayed.*

1546.

The furious zeal of Beaton, in whatever respected the stability of the church, and the continuance of its privileges, suspended, in this case, the prudence and the policy, which in the management of secular affairs, he almost constantly manifested. Instead of preserving Wishart, and thus keeping the protestants, from dread of accelerating the destruction of their beloved teacher, under restraint, he thirsted for his death, and hastened, by every means, an event, with which he little knew that the termination of his own career was so intimately connected.†

27th February.

Afraid of delay, he summoned a convocation of prelates to assemble at St Andrews; and, in his eagerness to procure a verdict of condemnation from the most exalted dignitaries of the church, he laid aside his resentment against the archbishop of Glasgow, and wrote to him, requesting his presence and assistance.*

This archbishop, upon his arrival, suggested to the cardinal the propriety of applying to the gover-

* Buchanan makes no remark whatever upon the violation of Bothwell's promise. Spottiswoode merely says, that he yielded to the queen's entreaty. Mackenzie softens the matter as much as possible; and Pitscottie observes that this facile earl was enticed. Knox assumes the highest tone of disapprobation; but he represents Bothwell rather as a loose effeminate man, than as having merited, by a breach of honour, the indignation of mankind.

† Knox's, History, B. i. p. 51.

nor, to issue a commission to some distinguished layman, appointing him to execute justice upon Wishart, that the clergy might not suffer from the detestation to which the death of a preacher so much revered would give rise. Beaton, who entertained no doubt of Arran's immediate assent, acquiesced in the suggestion.

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1546.

That the governor, had he been left to himself, would have complied in this instance, as he had done in others not less revolting to humanity, there can be little doubt. The counsellors, however, who were with him when the cardinal's application reached him, abhorred such sanguinary proceedings as those to which the application related ; and felt the utmost indignation that the power of the state should be employed to gratify the inveteracy of ecclesiastical bigotry and oppression. Hamilton of Preston, whose advice entitles him to the estimation of posterity, was most earnest in dissuading from compliance with the request of Wishart's persecutors. He shewed Arran the criminality of sacrificing men of spotless life, to the wishes of those who were stained with corruption ; who neither could hide their wickedness, nor were desirous to hide it ; he pointed out the inconsistency of the governor's punishing that which he once had supported, and the danger to which he exposed himself by alienating the attach-

* Knox's History, B. i. p. 51.

CHAP. ment of those through whom he had been exalted
IV. to the regency.*

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The soundness of this counsel made a deep impression upon Arran, and overcame his subserviency to the cardinal. Instead of issuing the commission, he wrote to him not to hasten the trial, but to wait till he himself should arrive; adding, what was still more alarming, that he would not consent to the death of Wishart until he had received a fair trial, and that if this were disregarded, he should require the prisoner's blood at the hands of the primate.†

Beaton, at all times little able to restrain his violent passions, received this answer with indecent warmth. It was indeed directly calculated to defeat his intentions respecting Wishart. Delay was, in the estimation of the cardinal, in the highest degree dangerous. The numerous friends of the prisoner might make a desperate attempt to release him, or the deliberate consideration of his case might excite so much pity, that his destruction could not be hazarded.‡

From this dilemma the bold spirit of the primate soon extricated him. Agreeably to the maxims of that spiritual dominion which he so zealously supported,

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 292, 293. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 79. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 188. Mackenzie's Life of Wishart, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 13. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 205. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I.

† Buchanan, Spottiswoode, Mackenzie, as above.

‡ Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 79. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. I.

he set at defiance the temporal authority ; declared that he had sent to the governor, not from any idea that he depended upon him, but from his desire that the condemnation of heretics should proceed with the appearance of public consent ; and that as this could not be obtained, he should of himself do what he judged most expedient to be done.*

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The archbishop of Glasgow did not give any further opposition ; and Wishart was summoned to appear, on the last day of February, in the Abbey Church. Nothing can be conceived more irritating, or more adapted to render oppression doubly grievous, than a regard to the forms of justice, when there is a firm conviction that they who use these forms intend to violate it. This was strongly felt by Wishart ; and accordingly, when the dean of the town, by order of the cardinal, cited him to appear, he replied—"The cardinal has no need to summon me : I am already in his hands, and bound in irons ; so that at any time he can compel my appearance ; but to shew what men ye are, it is well done to adhere to your forms and constitutions."†

The court was opened by a sermon from John Winram, the sub-prior, a man of an enlightened mind, who, although he had not at this time forsaken the communion of the church, was sensible of its imperfections, and secretly condemned the intolerance

Wishart's
trial.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 293. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 79. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 13. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 205.

† Knox, B. i. p. 52. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 79, 80.

CHAP. which it sanctioned.* He discoursed upon heresy,
 IV. and upon the causes of its increase, which, without
 1546. hesitation, he specified to be the ignorance and the
 negligence of those who had the care of souls ; who,
 not themselves understanding the word of God, were
 unable to lead back to the truth those who had gone
 astray. He then observed, that heresy could be as-
 certained only by the Scriptures, and expressed some
 doubt of the propriety or lawfulness of persecuting
 it in this world ; founding this doubt upon that re-
 markable declaration in the parable of the wheat
 and the tares—" Let them both grow together till
 the harvest." He concluded, however, surely rather
 inconsistently with his premises, that it ought to be
 opposed by the power of the church and the state,
 and that they who were guilty of it might be put
 to death.

When the sermon was finished, the articles of
 accusation against Wishart were read to him. His
 accuser then addressed him with a coarseness and
 an indecency of reproach, which in a more refined
 age, even tyranny would disdain to use.† The
 meekness and humility of the prisoner presented
 a most striking and interesting contrast. He fell
 on his knees and prayed for a short time, after
 which he modestly gave an account of his sermons,

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 293. Knox, B. i. p. 52, 53. Burnet's
 History of the Reformation in England, Vol. I. Spottiswoode,
 Book ii. p. 80.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 93. Knox, B. i. p. 53.

declaring that he had never taught any doctrine contrary to the ten commandments, the apostles' creed, and the Lord's prayer. Upon this he was interrupted with the utmost violence; and finding that it was impossible for him to make his defence where he then stood, he appealed to a competent judge.

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Lawder, who accused, took this opportunity of flattering the cardinal. He enumerated his many splendid titles, remarking, with triumph, that he who was honoured with them all, might well be regarded as a proper judge; but Wishart turned aside this panegyric, which was intended to overwhelm him, by answering, that he did not condemn the cardinal, as he only meant to say, that he wished to be tried by the word of God, and by lay-judges, he being the governor's prisoner.*

This appeal irritated Beaton; his patience was exhausted, and he would immediately have proceeded to condemnation, had he not been reminded that it was proper to allow the accusation to be again read, and to hear the replies which might be made to its different parts. It is evident that the other prelates, aware of the impression which the death of Wishart would probably leave, were anxious to avoid all irregularity in their proceedings; and although they had failed in procuring the sanction of the civil power, they persuaded the cardinal to hear Wishart. Eighteen charges were exhibited

* Knox, B. i. p. 54. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 80.

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against him, and were brought forward in a manner equally disgraceful to the court which permitted it to be used, and to the man who could use it. The opinions of Wishart were much misrepresented. He endeavoured to convey an accurate idea of them; but, as he acknowledged that] he believed several points which were considered inconsistent with the faith of the church, he was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and sentenced to be burned.*

He prepares
to suffer.

When his trial was concluded, he was led back to the castle, and was lodged in the room assigned to the captain. He spent the night mostly in prayer; and his unaffected piety, his awful situation, and the injustice which had been shewn to him, made that officer conduct himself towards him with humanity and respect.

1st March.

His enemies, agreeably to what had been their common practice, added insult to cruelty. They ordered two friars to announce to him in the morning that he must die, and to exhort him to make confession.† He declined entering into any conference with them; but he entreated that he might be permitted to converse with the sub-prior, of whom, from his sermon, he had formed a favour-

* Knox, B. i. p. 54-61, where the accusation and the answers are given at full length; also in the Book of Martyrs. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 80. Burnet, Vol. I. Lindsay of Piscottie, p. 189.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 293. Knox, B. i. p. 61. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 81. Lindsay of Piscottie, p. 189. Mackenzie's Life of Wishart, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 15. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 205.

able opinion. This worthy priest, after a long conversation, asked him if he wished to receive the sacrament. He expressed his anxiety to partake of it, if he could do so according to what he believed to be the mode which had been prescribed by Christ. In this the sub-prior, had it depended upon himself, would most cheerfully have gratified him. He had, indeed, become so convinced of his innocence, that, in the honesty and simplicity of his heart, he conceived it to be right to state that conviction to his spiritual superiors. If he expected to influence them he was soon undeceived. He was silenced by threats which alarmed him; and when he asked whether they would allow him to dispense the sacrament to Wishart, they, after some consultation, answered, that it was not reasonable to give any spiritual benefit to an obstinate heretic condemned by the church.*

Wishart, on that awful morning, accepted an invitation to breakfast with the captain of the castle. Bread and wine having been placed upon the table, he blessed them, and, partaking of them himself, as the memorials of Christ's sufferings, he gave them to those who were present, who, deeply affected with a scene so impressive, without hesitation received them.†

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 294. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 81. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 189. Mackenzie's Life of Wishart, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 15. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 205.

† Buchanan, Spottiswoode, Burnet, Pitcottie, Mackenzie, as last quoted.

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In a few hours after, the executioners conducted him to the place of suffering, which was in the area before the castle. He was clothed in a linen garment, from which were suspended several bags of gun-powder. The cardinal seems to have been sensible, that the minds of men would be much agitated by the fate of this amiable sufferer, and even to have apprehended that some attempt might be made to rescue him from the flames. He commanded all the artillery of the fortress to be pointed towards the scene of execution; and, either to watch the ebullitions of popular indignation, to display his contempt of the reformers, or to satiate himself by contemplating the destruction of a man; in whose grave he hoped that their principles would be buried, he openly, with the prelates who accompanied him, witnessed the melancholy spectacle.* Wishart conducted himself, in his last moments, as it became a martyr for the cause of truth and the purity of religion. After imploring from heaven the support which he so much required, he exhorted the people not to depart from what he had taught, on account of the sufferings which it had brought upon him, but to adhere to it as the most valuable of blessings. Having again prayed, the executioner kindled the fire and the powder, but life was not immediately extinguished. The

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 294. Knox, B. i. p. 52. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 82. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 16. Keith seems to hesitate about this fact, but there can be no doubt of it.

captain of the castle entreating him to preserve his fortitude, he answered him with unshaken intrepidity, and the cord which surrounded his neck having been more tightly drawn, he expired.*

CHAP.
IV.

1548.

Death.

Such was the death of this distinguished advocate for the reformation, whose virtues have been admitted by almost every historian; whose modesty, piety, and benevolence, adorned the doctrine which he preached; who promoted, by his labours, the protestant faith, and whose death opened the way for its triumph in Scotland.

Remarks
upon his
character
and con-
duct.

Yet, amiable as he certainly was, his memory has not escaped from blame, and even from imputations, which, if founded in truth, would lead every well regulated mind to condemn his conduct. His dispensing the sacrament, although he was not a priest, has, by some writers, who seem to have regarded the ceremonial part of religion as of equal importance with its essential objects, been represented as wholly indefensible, nay, even as impious. But although it be unquestionable, that a peculiar order should be set apart for the ministry, and although the worst consequences would result, if every individual of himself assumed the exercise of the pastoral function, and the administration of the solemn ordinances to be observed by Christians, it admits not a rational doubt, that there are circumstances, in which this general principle may with

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 294. Knox, B. i. p. 63. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 82. See also Leslie's short account, Lib. x. p. 458.

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propriety be disregarded. In such circumstances Wishart was surely placed. Contemplating, with an anxiety inseparable from human nature, the lingering anguish by which he was to escape from the world, he was desirous, by thus remembering his Redeemer, to increase his strength and to give fervour to his devotion. But this was denied, and he must have been deprived of all the consolation which it imparted to him, had he not done what has been unadvisedly censured. Could that be in opposition to the gospel, which supported fortitude and invigorated virtue, or could that be offensive to Him who came into the world to bless mankind, which alleviated the excruciating agony of a most awful death, and imparted serenity to a mind weighed down by calamity?*

* Collier, in Vol. II. p. 206, of his Ecclesiastical History of Britain, reasons as a high-churchman against this part of Wishart's conduct; but there is much candour in his reasoning. After declaring that the consecrating of the eucharist was wholly indefensible, and shewing upon what ground he conceived it to be so, he adds, "How far purity of intention, the spirit of martyrdom, and resigning to death and torture for conscience sake, which seems to have been Wishart's case, may atone for human frailty and breaking through the discipline of the church, I shall not take on me to determine." Mackenzie, in his Life of Wishart, goes far beyond this, and, with indecent violence, says, he most impiously took on him the administration of the sacraments. There cannot be a more decisive proof of the unhappy influence of strong religious prejudice, than charging with impiety a man who died in the cause of religion, and whose whole conduct exhibits the most sincere and fervent devotion. Mr Scott, in his remarks upon this History, observes, "It seems most probable that Wishart had received ordination to the ministry in France, in Germany, or perhaps at Cambridge, while he was acting as teacher in that univer-

But there is a much more heavy charge which has been insinuated, and even directly made against Wishart. In many of the accounts which we have of his sufferings, it is mentioned, that, looking towards the cardinal, he predicted, "that he who, from yonder place, (pointing to the tower where he sat), beholdeth us with such pride, shall, within a few days, lie in the same as ignominiously as now he is seen proudly to rest."* The death of the cardinal, which so soon succeeded the martyrdom of Wishart, gave rise to a conjecture that he knew of the conspiracy, and that he affected to foretell what he had been assured would be certainly attempted; and a letter to Henry VIII. from the Earl of Hartford, has been quoted as confirming this allegation.†

There is much reason to believe that Wishart never uttered the prediction, upon which an imputation, so essentially affecting his character, has been founded. Knox, his most intimate friend, who was not many miles distant from St Andrews when he suffered, who, from personal affection and from

sity; and that therefore he did not assume a right to which he was not entitled, when, in the morning of that day in which he suffered death, he partook of the sacrament of our Lord's Supper, and gave it to the captain of the castle of St Andrews." It is sufficient to say, that there is no evidence whatever of Wishart's ordination.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 294. Spottiswoode, B, ii. p. 82. Collier's Ecclesiastical History, Vol. II. p. 206. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 16.

† Dempster's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, printed at Bononia, p. 598. Mackenzie's *Life of Wishart*, in Vol. III. of his *Lives*, p. 17, 18. Keith, note to p. 43, of his *History*.

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zeal in the cause of reformation, would naturally make the most minute inquiry into all the circumstances connected with his death, and particularly into what he said before he expired; who, in other parts of his history, has represented him as endowed with the gift of prophecy; and who would have delighted to record so striking an instance of it, is altogether silent upon the subject. This renders it in the highest degree probable, that a false respect for the memory of this excellent man, had led those who entertained it, to connect some of his general declarations, concerning the speedy destruction of popery and its supporters, with an event which tended so remarkably to give probability to these declarations, and to shew the soundness of Wishart's understanding, and the accuracy of his observation.*

* The opinion stated in the text is almost completely established by the account which Knox gives of Wishart's last speech. Last of all, he observes, he said to the people in this manner: "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at least may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good; and if they will not convert themselves from their wicked errors, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they will not eschew." This is just such a general declaration as I have supposed Wishart to make. It evidently was intended by him, merely to warn the prelates of the danger of not reforming themselves: but it might easily be considered as a prophecy, which the cardinal's death had fulfilled. It is plain that Knox had inquired about the address which Wishart made to the people, and, with his opportunities of information, it is difficult to suppose that he could fail in ascertaining the truth. That, at the time of Wishart's death, no such imputation, as that which I am now considering, was cast

The letter, which has been considered as establishing the charge against Wishart, is entitled to no credit. It was not found by one of our most accurate inquirers into points of history, where the writer who quotes it asserts that it may be seen ;

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1544.

upon him, is proved by the account given by Leslie, who expressly states, that the conspiracy against the cardinal was not formed till Wishart had suffered. Yet, although there is the most convincing evidence that the whole accusation is without foundation, and was the invention of a later period, and although Mackenzie, in his *Life of Wishart*, speaks with some doubt of it, he, without hesitation, affirms, in his *Life of Beaton*, that the Earl of Angus and his brother had employed Wishart in the affair of the cardinal's death, although he must have known, that, according to all the most common rules of evidence, this affirmation was, to speak most favourably for him, exceedingly doubtful. Such conduct in a historian is in the highest degree reprehensible ; it is not simply concealing truth, but disguising or perverting it. Keith was fully aware that there was not sufficient evidence for this calumny ; he had, indeed, very satisfactorily shewn that the prediction which gave rise to it was, in all probability, not spoken by Wishart. Yet, even when he declares that he could not find the letter quoted by Mackenzie, instead of boldly asserting the innocence of the martyr, he says, that he can determine nothing in the matter. Had he chosen to exercise his usual acuteness with regard to dates and papers, he could easily have come to a decision. With the exception of Dempster and Mackenzie, all historians, of whatever party, bear witness to the purity and excellence of Wishart's character. I have inserted in Appendix, No. 1. the letter, or rather the part of the letter to Henry, relating to Wishart, with a few observations. It is proper to mention that the prophecy to which I have alluded has been inserted in Buchanan's edition of Knox's History, and is there said to have been uttered by Wishart. This edition, however, is very inaccurate, and has been in many places interpolated. That the prophecy is one of these interpolations, is evident from the fact, that it is not found in the edition 1732, which was printed from the original MS. and which is entitled to be considered as the most genuine edition. For much information respecting the editions of Knox's History, the reader is referred to Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, in *Life of Knox*, and to a letter subjoined to the printed *Life of Knox*.

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and, what is completely decisive, it was said to have been written two years before the cardinal's death, and could therefore have no relation to a conspiracy, which, it is apparent, was not in existence till within a very short time of its being carried into execution.

But even admitting the authenticity of the letter, the contents of it do not warrant the conclusion against Wishart. It does indeed mention, that a man of that name was the bearer of the letters and papers to which it refers, but there is no shadow of proof that he was the same with him who suffered ; there is every reason to imagine that he was a different person.

The innocence of Wishart might have been safely rested upon the habits of his life, and the general complexion of his character. Nothing could be more improbable than that he, who saved the wretched priest who attempted to assassinate him, would engage in schemes of murder, or, that one who was so totally engrossed in the propagation of religious truth, would, at the commencement of his labours, have again left Scotland, to conduct long negotiations against a man, whose antipathy to him had not then been manifested, and who had not, for some years before, been engaged in persecution. That all doubt, however, might be removed, I have examined the direct evidence for the charge, and have, I trust, shewn, that it ought not for a moment to weigh even with the most credulous or the most prejudiced mind.

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The death of Wishart was regarded by the cardinal and the church as the triumph of their cause. They confidently expected that, his active exertions having terminated, the people would be no longer impelled by exhortation to renounce the religion of the state ; and in the decisiveness of Beaton, and in his contempt of the civil authority, the clergy saw an approach to that overbearing superiority, which, in ages of darkness, had been claimed by the ecclesiastical power. In the presumptuous delusion of the moment, the primate conceived himself able to restrain the veneration of those, who had, with the bitterness of sorrow, beheld the dismal scene of suffering. He issued a proclamation, commanding that none should pray for the heretic, under pain of the heaviest censures of the church ; forgetting that even although he had succeeded in preventing every expression of feeling, that Omniscient Being, who is everywhere present, would have perceived the silent aspirations which ascended to his throne.*

But notwithstanding the complacency with which he reflected upon the death of this strenuous and successful defender of the protestant faith, and notwithstanding the congratulations of churchmen, and the applause which they liberally bestowed on him, he soon felt the mortification of disappointment. Far from having extinguished attachment to the reformation, that attachment was now more loudly and more firmly avowed ; far from having contri-

Beaton
becomes
unpopular.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 294. Spottiswoode's History, B. ii. p. 82.

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buted to the security of the church, he had increased the conviction of the necessity of subverting it; far from having silenced his own enemies, their murmurs became deeper and more frequent than before; and he viewed, with no slight apprehension, the danger which threatened to overtake him.

The insolence with which he trampled upon the nobles, the humiliating subjection to which he had reduced the governor, and the unfeeling uniform cruelty which he exercised against all who favoured innovation, had, for a considerable time, been regarded with secret but keen resentment. The death of Wishart furnished those who detested the primate with favourable ground for arraigning his conduct.

The law of the land, and of the church, required that capital punishment for heresy should be inflicted in consequence of a warrant from the sovereign, or from those who exercised the supreme executive power. In the present case this law had not only been disregarded, but Wishart had been doomed to the stake by Beaton, in express opposition to the command of the governor. His trial and his death, thus divested of legal sanction, were detested as the atrocities of a murderer. Many were persuaded that the cardinal had virtually forfeited the protection of government, and might even, by private zeal, be punished for the crime.

John Leslie, a brother of the Earl of Rothes, did

not conceal that these were his sentiments. Filled with horror at the audacity of Beaton, and with pity for the melancholy tyranny which he thought awaited his country, he, in every company, lamented over them, and vowed that the blood of Wishart should not be unrevenged.*

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The report that such a spirit prevailed, struck the cardinal with consternation, and he endeavoured to secure himself by a closer union with the nobility. He contracted his natural daughter with the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford, and was present at the marriage, which was solemnized with the most splendid magnificence.†

But the activity of disappointed friendship made this precaution ineffectual. Norman Leslie, eldest son to the Earl of Rothes, had attached himself to Beaton; and had, upon various occasions, rendered to him important services. Upon the cardinal's return to St. Andrews from Angus, within which county the marriage had taken place—a return hastened by his anxiety to collect his adherents, and to fortify his castle against an apprehended attack from England, Leslie came to him. Having asked

Scheme to
assassinate
him.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 294. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 82. Knox, B. i. p. 63. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. Crawford's life of Beaton, in his Lives of Officers of State, p. 81. Keith, B. i. ch. iv. p. 42.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 294, 295. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 82. Lindsay of Pitseottie, p. 191. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. Keith mentions, in a note to p. 42d of his History, that he had seen a copy of the contract of marriage subscribed by the cardinal, in which he called the bride his daughter.

CHAP.
IV.

1546.

a favour which was not granted, he lost his temper, and a violent altercation took place. Stung with what he considered as ingratitude, and exasperated by the haughty deportment of the prelate, he withdrew, to unite with his uncle in the scheme against Beaton.*

They were soon joined by several who were probably influenced by mistaken zeal for religion, and they fixed upon the twenty-ninth of May for executing their design. The chief conspirators were Norman Leslie, John, his uncle, Kircaldy of Grange, Peter Carmichael, and James Melville; but it appears from the summons, which after the cardinal's death was issued against his murderers, that the whole number who had associated consisted of thirty-five.†

To prevent all suspicion, Norman Leslie came to St Andrews on the twenty-eighth, accompanied only by five of his friends, and took up his residence in the house which he had been accustomed to occupy. Kircaldy had arrived some days be-

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 295. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 82. Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 209. It has been supposed that the plot was framed or encouraged by Henry, but this is extremely improbable. It seems to have been suddenly formed; and the account in Melvil's Memoirs, p. 6, 7, respecting the interference of the English monarch, is obviously incorrect. Henry had once proposed that the cardinal should be carried into England, and might perhaps have expressed himself as if he had no reluctance to cut him off; but the resolution of the Leslies arose from their own feelings, and had not been communicated to Henry. Keith, p. 49. Mackenzie, Vol. III. p. 23.

† Keith, note to p. 50 of his History.

fore ; and John Leslie, who, from having openly declared his hostile intentions, might have excited alarm, did not join them till late at night. The rest, probably in the same unconnected manner, entered the city. The determination of these men was not shaken by what might have led them, with much reason, to dread that their enterprize would not be successful. The cardinal was then adding to the fortifications of the castle ; and, as the number of people about it was thus unusually great, the risk of failure or of detection was very much increased. Unintimidated, however, by any danger, they met at three in the morning in the abbey churchyard, and having finally concerted their plan, they went towards the castle.

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1546.

May 28th.

May 29th.

Kircaldy, and six who attended him, readily procured admission, and they entered into a conversation with the porter, that his attention might be taken away from the approach of their associates. Norman Leslie, and they who were with him, passed unheeded ; but his uncle, coming with considerable violence or agitation, the porter began to suspect a plot against his master, and instantly attempted to draw up the bridge. Leslie, however, was able to secure him, and the whole company assembled within the walls. The workmen, terrified by the struggle with the porter, and probably dreading that a formidable body would make an assault, left the fortress ; and the conspirators, guided by Norman Leslie, to whom the construction of the castle was perfectly known, awoke the cardinal's attend-

CHAP. ants, threatened them with instant destruction if
IV. they resisted, and, without being compelled to use

1546.

any violence, succeeded in prevailing upon them quietly to withdraw. The governor's son alone was permitted to remain. They were indeed eager to keep him in their possession, knowing that they would, by detaining him, negotiate with his father upon terms much more favourable to themselves, than they could otherwise hope to procure.

Having thus silently and most wonderfully made themselves masters of the castle, they knocked at the bedchamber of the cardinal, who then first awoke. Having inquired who thus rudely interrupted his repose, the answer convinced him that he was in the hands of his enemies; and, in the utmost agitation, he secured the door. They immediately ordered fire to be brought, that they might burn it; and during that awful interval, Beaton having obtained from them a solemn assurance that they would do him no injury, gave them admission. The obligation of honour they had no scruple to disregard; they rushed upon the helpless primate, and, with many wounds, most cruelly put him to death.*

His cath.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 285. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 458. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 85. Knox, B. i. p. 64. Lindsay of Pittcottie, p. 191. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. I. Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 309. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 232. Mackenzie's Life of Beaton, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 24. Crawford's do. in Lives of Officers of State, p. 81. Calderwood's true Hist. of the Church of Scotland, p. 2. Keith, B. i. ch. iv. p. 43. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, Book iv. p. 141. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 7.

Alarm was soon spread through the city. Numbers assembled to rescue the cardinal; but when they saw his dead body, which the conspirators exhibited from the window where he had witnessed the death of Wishart, their zeal abated, and they dispersed without attempting to retake the fortress.*

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In minds not rendered callous by familiarity with devastation and bloodshed, violent death, suddenly inflicted, awakens feelings of compassion, which ob-^{Different sentiments with regard to it.}literate in a great degree former impressions, and extinguish the antipathy or the detestation with which the sufferer had before been regarded. The clergy, and the adherents of Beaton, took advantage of this propensity or law of our nature. They placed, in the most striking light, every circumstance of atrocity, which had attended the conspiracy; they brought into view whatever, in the situation of the cardinal, tended to excite commiseration; and representing his destruction as a crime of the deepest malignity, they called upon their countrymen to execrate those by whom it had been perpetrated. They made, as might have been expected, a considerable impression. Many, from their religious principles, regarded with horror the murder of a priest and of a cardinal; many who enjoyed his patronage, lamented the loss of their benefactor; and not a few, who had detested his cruelty, were

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 285. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 83, and most of the writers last quoted.

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IV.

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shocked at the haste with which he was sacrificed, without being allowed one moment to compose his spirit, and to solicit from the mercy of heaven that pardon of which he stood so much in need.

The government naturally joined with those who condemned the perpetrators. It considered the action as an infringement of the laws, and as a violation of the jurisdiction of the kingdom, which, if not punished, might, by arming private revenge, destroy that security which can be created only by the steady administration of justice. Several of the writers of this period have transmitted, and warmly adopted, the sentiments which have been recorded; some of them indeed seem to have felt more intensely for Beaton than for the unhappy men whom he had consigned to the flames.

But a large part of the community regarded this event in a very different light. Condemning the general policy of Beaton; beholding with indignation the contempt with which he had treated whatever opposed his ambition; and convinced that the illegality of Wishart's sentence had converted his death into murder, which, if the law could not or would not reach it, might in any way be punished; they considered the destruction of the cardinal as necessary for preserving civil and religious liberty. They did not hesitate to represent it as affording clear evidence of divine interposition, and even to ascribe to the impulse of heaven, the determination of those by whom it was accomplished.

Some writers have espoused these opinions, so

hazardous in themselves, and so apt to be abused; opinions, which have been urged in defence of the most dreadful enormities; and, in the history of Knox, there is a levity, and even a buffoonery, in the narration of the conspiracy, and of the success which attended it, so inconsistent with the solidity of his understanding, as to afford some ground for the hope that it had been inserted by those who prepared for the press the unfinished production which he left.* Even upon the supposition that the death of Beaton was justified by his conduct, it was an event, the necessity of which good men would have lamented; deliberate exultation over it could proceed only from a depraved heart, or from the operation of that enthusiastic bigotry, which

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* In the proceedings of the General Assembly, held at Edinburgh 1572, it is mentioned, "The kirk requeysted ye kirk of Edinburgh to provide and appoint some learnit men to support Richard Bannatyne to put John Knox historie, yat is now in scrowes and papers, in guid forme."—*Buik of Universal Kirk*, an account of which will be found in a note in the third volume of this history. It appears from the request of the kirk, that Knox left his history in an unfinished state; and there can be little doubt, that the persons appointed to assist the secretary of the reformer, in preparing the work for publication, would occasionally express their own sentiments, or make such additions as they thought requisite for elucidating and completing the narration. It is possible, that some of them might have written the remarks on the death of Beaton; and if this was not the case, they ought certainly to have cancelled what was as inconsistent with good taste as with the humane and enlarged spirit of Christianity. It surely may be supposed that Knox, if he was the author of the remarks, had written them under the influence of the strong feelings, excited by the first information of the Cardinal's fate, and that, had he coolly digested the materials of his history, he would have expunged them. How often has injudicious zeal to bring forth the posthumous works of eminent men, cruelly injured the fame which it was solicitous to raise!

CHAP.
IV.

1546.
Motives of
the conspi-
rators.

so often counteracts, even in those most disposed to virtue, all which is excellent in our nature.*

The nature of the action, however, is to be determined, not by the sentiments which different descriptions of men entertained with respect to it, but by a consideration of the motives by which the conspirators were actuated. That some of them conceived that they were doing God service, and were promoting the happiness of their country, cannot be doubted. Melville, who dispatched the cardinal, before he struck the fatal blow, coolly expostulated with him; declared that he felt no private resentment, but thought that it was his duty to avenge Wishart, by cutting off a man who had been, and who continued to be, an obstinate enemy to Christ and his gospel.

Although we must condemn the step to which perverted zeal impelled him, yet it must be admitted, that, in his own estimation at least, he was swayed by public spirit, and was acting upon a principle, which, however dangerous in practice, is abstractly true,—that a tyrant, above the reach of law,

* An account of the death of Beaton may be found in all the writers of the period at which it took place. They who most condemned the murder are, Leslie, Keith, Mackenzie, Collier; they who regarded it as a happy event, the work of God—Fox in his *Martyrology*, Knox, and Calderwoode in his true *History of the Church of Scotland*. Buchanan makes few observations upon it. Spottiswoode condemns the cruelty with which the cardinal was slain, but writes with great moderation upon the subject. Bishop Burnet has calmly stated the different sentiments entertained with respect to that event. See also Crawford's *Life of Beaton* in his *Lives of Officers of State*, Holinshed's *Chronicle*, Vol. II. and Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*, all as last quoted.

may be destroyed by those whom he had oppressed, or whom he had marked out as the objects of oppression. Of this justification, Norman Leslie could not avail himself. Although he was the framer, certainly the instigator of the conspiracy, he was led to engage in it from resentment of a personal quarrel. Had the favour which he solicited from the cardinal been granted, he would have continued the support which he had been accustomed to afford him ; he would have regarded with indifference the fate of Wishart ; and would have lost, in his complacency at his own prosperity, all desire to save the country from the ecclesiastical oppression under which it groaned. There was thus a mixture of motive in those who confederated to destroy Beaton ; their patriotism was not pure : but, perhaps, with the exception of Norman Leslie, their feelings, as individuals, were strengthened by a sense of public duty.

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Like the murderers of Cæsar, they had not weighed the consequences of the deed which they were to perpetrate. They had made no effectual provision for securing what they wished to promote ; and had not other circumstances, over which they had no controul, favoured the reformation, the mode of the cardinal's death might have increased the fury of persecution, and, by associating zeal for the introduction of the new opinions with violence or with guilt, might have directed against them the opposition of all who were desirous to preserve the internal tranquillity of their country.

Estimate
of the
Cardinal's
policy.

CHAP.
IV

1546.

In the life and death of Beaton, we see the vanity of ambition, and are led to deplore the perversion of the most splendid talents. Possessed of a vigour of mind which might have happily directed the national councils, and saved Scotland from the distractions which awaited it, the profligacy of his morals, and the violence of his passions, rendered him a scourge rather than a blessing. Devoting his exertions to the acquisition of power, and to the support of the rights, the affluence, and the authority of the church, he had just ascended the proud summit to which he had so long aspired, when the hand of irritated friendship dragged him from the world; and he left the church tottering on the brink of that gulf of ruin, into which it was, ere long, to be plunged,

I have thus fully detailed the origin and the first steps in the progress of the reformation, both because by doing so, some light has been thrown upon a few of the most striking features of human nature; and because, without an intimate acquaintance with its commencement, its subsequent advancement cannot be satisfactorily traced and explained. Before the death of Beaton, its foundations had been laid; that event increased their stability; and in the subsequent part of this history, we shall have much more frequently to contemplate the increasing influence of a revolution so salutary to our country, than to mourn over the destruction of those, whose zeal in its support should endear their memory to every friend of the liberty, the knowledge, and the happiness of mankind.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

Conspirators retain possession of the Castle....Clergy urge vigorous measures against them....Supported in this by the Queen-Dowager....Conduct and views of the Governor....Garrison propose to surrender....Scruples of the Archbishop of Glasgow....Proceedings against them....Arran acts with increased energy....Garrison apply to England....Their cause espoused by Henry; he violates justice and policy....A new negotiation....Views and insincerity of both parties....Armistice....Dissolute conduct of the Garrison....Interruption of hostilities favourable to the Reformation....John Knox comes to St Andrews....His occupation there....Resolution to call him to the ministerial office....Manner in which he was called....Reflections....His own feelings....His first sermon....Laudable resolution of the Clergy....Success of Knox....Death of Henry VIII....Government of Edward adopt his father's policy towards Scotland....Death of Francis....His successor resolves to support the Scottish Government....Indignation against England universally felt in Scotland....Knox retires to the Castle....It surrenders....Is destroyed....Fate of the Garrison.

THE tumult which the report of the cardinal's death had excited in the city, having been composed by the exhibition of his body, no immediate attempt was made to wrest the castle from the con-

CHAP.
V.

1546.

CHAP.
V.

1546.
Conspirators retain possession of the Castle.

spirators. They continued to keep possession of it, and they were soon joined by about one hundred and forty gentlemen who approved their conduct, and were desirous to share their fate.* Thus strengthened, they determined to resist the authority of government, which they knew would soon be directed against them; and they derived much advantage for carrying this design into execution, from the addition, which the fear or the policy of Beaton had led him to make to the fortifications, and from the abundant supplies of provisions which he had collected.†

The death of the cardinal, a man so distinguished by his rank in the church, and by the ability and energy with which he had administered the affairs of government, affected all parties, and gave a new aspect to the situation of Scotland.

Clergy
urge vigorous measures against them.

The clergy, who had revered him as the great bulwark of the church, lamented his untimely dissolution, as an event hastening the destruction which hung over them, and they made every exertion to secure its being revenged. They pronounced the once dreadful sentence of excommunication against all who had been implicated in it; they urged the governor, by the most earnest representations, to assail these men by the civil power; and they gave a

* Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 50. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 191. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 231.

† Leslie de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 459. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 296. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 191. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 233.

liberal subsidy from the ecclesiastical revenues for carrying on the siege of the castle, which they wished to be immediately commenced.*

CHAP.
V.
1546.

The queen-dowager also deeply bewailed this unexpected misfortune. Attached to the interests of her native country, and naturally eager to unite France and Scotland in the firmest alliance, she had given her decided countenance to the primate, who had long acted with the same views, and who had displayed an anxiety to promote her comfort, which gave her reason to hope, that he would be instrumental, at a future period, in rendering her more important services.†

Clergy supported by the Queen Dowager.

The governor professed to feel the utmost sorrow for what had happened; but it is highly probable, that he was secretly not displeased that he had been delivered from the arbitrary and ungracious dominion, which the crafty prelate had established over him; and there was a most powerful domestic reason for his proceeding with much delicacy and circumspection against the murderers.‡ His eldest son, as has been already mentioned, had been found in the castle, and had been detained as a security for his father's forbearance; and yielding

Conduct and views of the governor.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 296. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 84. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 60, 61. Knox, B. i. p. 65.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 296. Knox, B. i. p. 65. Lindsay of Pit-scottie, p. 191.

‡ Leslie, Lib. x. p. 459. Holinshed, Vol. II. p. 293. Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. I. p. 113. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. V. p. 304.

CHAP. to the dictates of paternal affection, he was reluc-
 V. tant to drive to despair, men who could retaliate by
 1546. the death of one to whom he was so tenderly at-
 tached.

On the tenth of June, a summons of treason was served against the conspirators, to which the great seal was annexed by the Earl of Huntly, the new chancellor, citing them to appear before the parliament, which was to assemble at Edinburgh on the thirtieth of July. On the following day an order of council was issued, prohibiting all persons from corresponding with the castle, or from supplying it with arms and provisions, under pain of death and forfeiture of goods.*

Garrison
propose to
surrender.

The long interval between the date of the summons and the day of appearance, so little corresponds with the energy of a vigorous government, that we must suppose it to have been intended to afford an opportunity of submission; and if this was the design, there was, at one time, reason to hope that it would be successful. It appears from the registers of the parliament, which met on the twenty-ninth of July, that the Leslies, and several more of the leading men of the party, probably intimidated at the prospect before them, had offered to make a full discovery of all the circumstances relating to the assassination of Beaton, and to deliver to the governor his son and the castle, upon

* Keith, Hist. of Scotland, B. i. ch. v. p. 50.

condition of receiving a pardon under the great seal. To these terms Arran and the estates cheer-
 fully consented; but the zeal of the archbishop of Glasgow took the alarm; and he insisted, in a protest solemnly taken, that, as the murderers had been formally excommunicated by the church, no agreement should be made with them, until they received absolution from the pope.*

CHAP.
V.
1546.
Scruples of
the Arch-
bishop of
Glasgow.

This unnecessary display of regard for the established religion dissipated every intention of voluntary submission. The garrison inferred from it, that they might be sacrificed by the enmity of the church, even although the honour of government should be pledged for their safety. Banishing, therefore, the momentary despondency which had inclined them to capitulation, they resumed the confidence which they had at first felt; and even while their proposals were under consideration, they dreaded that Arran would accede to them, and determined to avail themselves of any pretext for breaking off a treaty which they had themselves solicited.

Accordingly, by the time that parliament again assembled, it had become evident, that without force they would not be deprived of the castle; and the remission, with all the articles relating to it, were expunged from the records of that assembly. The conspirators were, by a public act, declared guilty of treason, and their property, with the exception of

August 14.

Proceed-
ings against
them.

* Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 50.

CHAP. that belonging to Norman Leslie, whose sentence
 V. was for some reason deferred for a few days, was
 1546. confiscated. To destroy the expectations which
 they founded upon being in possession of the go-
 vernor's son, an act was on the same day passed,
 depriving him of all right of succession, either in a
 private or a public capacity, so long as he conti-
 nued a prisoner.*

Arran acts
 with in-
 creased
 energy.

Still, however, no active measures were taken by
 government, and the garrison might long have con-
 tinued to enjoy their acquisition without molesta-
 tion, had not new arrangements led to more manly
 and decisive conduct. The affection which the re-
 gent entertained for John Hamilton, his natural
 brother, determined his resolution to nominate him
 to the primacy. The canons immediately proceed-
 ed to the election, and the pope at once confirmed
 it, that no pretence might be afforded to Scotland,
 for following the dangerous and pernicious example
 of England.†

The pontiff embraced the opportunity which the
 transmission of the necessary bulls presented to him,
 to exhort the governor and the new primate to tes-
 tify their reverence for the church by the most vi-
 gorous proceedings against those who had so da-
 ringly violated her privileges ; and private reasons

* Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 51.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 480. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 84. Crawford's
 Lives of Officers of State, p. 376. Mackenzie's Life of Archbishop
 Hamilton, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 102. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 60.

disposed the Earl of Angus and Sir George Douglas to enforce, by their advice, this counsel.*

CHAP.
V.

1546.

The archbishop soon decided the fluctuating resolutions of his brother. Supported by the queen-dowager and by the clergy, he prevailed on him to assemble forces for besieging the castle.† The siege was begun in the end of August; and the garrison, sensible that they could not, by their own efforts, resist the whole forces of their country, opened a communication with Henry, and solicited his support. The English monarch ought with disdain to have rejected the advances which were made to him; and sound policy should have prevented him from countenancing men who were in actual rebellion, and whose numbers and influence were too inconsiderable to promote any views respecting Scotland, which he continued to entertain. In addition to this, he was bound by treaty to abstain from every act of hostility against his northern neighbours.‡ After a destructive war, peace had been concluded between France and England, and it appears from the treaty that the French king had insisted upon comprehending Scotland. The comprehension had been solemnly ratified by the

The cause
of the gar-
rison es-
coused by
Henry.

Violates
policy and
justice.

* Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 60. Knox, B i. p. 66.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 459. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 996. Knox, B. i. p. 66. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 84. Holinsbed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 233. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 51.

‡ Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XIV. The article in the treaty to which I have alluded is, "that the Scots shall be included in the peace, and that Henry shall not attack them, unless they give him fresh cause."

CHAP. V. Scottish parliament, and peace between the two nations of Britain had been formally proclaimed.*

1546.
June 7.

But Henry little regarded the obligation of honour and good faith, when these opposed his insatiable ambition. He dispatched several vessels with provisions, supplied the castle with whatever was necessary for its defence, and remitted money to secure the constancy of the garrison. Even after his death, the expence of this small force was defrayed by England, and pensions were bestowed on the officers by whom it was commanded.†

The siege was continued for upwards of three months without success; a sufficient proof both of the listlessness of the governor, and of the deficiency of that age in military skill. At the end of this time, either from his alarm at the avowed support which was given to the conspirators by Henry, or from dread that the castle might be occupied by that monarch as a receptacle for a body of troops, he determined again to negotiate, and received from the council full power to commence a treaty. The garrison were equally eager to suspend the siege. They had begun to feel much inconveniency; they found it difficult to convey into the castle the supplies which were sent by sea; and they were thus anxious to gain time, that a more extensive and

A new negotiation.
Dec. 17.

* Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. V. p. 304.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 459. Knox, B. i. p. 66. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 84. Keith, B. i. ch. 5. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 8.

effectual system of co-operation might be deliberately arranged. CHAP.
V.

Arran was not without similar views. He had, ^{1546.} Views and ^{insincerity} probably at the suggestion of the queen-dowager, resolved to apply for aid to the king of France, and ^{of both parties.} he wished to be free from that distraction of his attention, to which hostilities with the conspirators gave rise, until he could, by an overwhelming force, reduce them to subjection.*

After several conferences, the following articles were adopted as the basis of a treaty: "That the government should procure for the besieged a sufficient absolution from the pope for the slaughter of the cardinal; that they should not be pursued by force or deprived of the castle, until that absolution should be obtained; that the besieged, and none connected with them, should ever be prosecuted for the slaughter of the cardinal; that they should enjoy all their privileges and rights, spiritual and temporal, as freely as if it had never been committed; that they should give pledges for fulfilling their part of the treaty; and that the governor's son should remain in the castle till all things were finally adjusted."† Nothing but the most imperious necessity could have afforded any apology for

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 459. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 233. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 84. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 296. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 51.

† Knox, B. i. p. 66. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 84. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 51. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 233.

CHAP. the governor submitting to terms so highly favour-
 V. able to the besieged, and so disgraceful to the coun-
 1546. try.

The first article shews very strikingly how powerfully the church could controul the decisions of the government. The garrison professed to feel the most ardent zeal for the protestant faith, and they listened with much delight to teachers who stigmatized the pope as antichrist, the great enemy of the Christian religion. In stipulating, therefore, for his absolution, they must have been guided, not by any conviction of its inherent value or sanctity, but by the belief that, unless it was obtained, the pardon of the regent would be despised by the clergy, who would still consider them as liable to the dreadful punishment decreed for those who cast themselves out of the protection, or who treated, with heretical derision, the sacred authority of the church.

Armistice. The armistice having been approved by both parties, Arran dismissed his army, and went to Edinburgh; while they who had been shut up in the castle, gladly associated with the inhabitants of the city, or spread themselves over the adjacent country.*

It is melancholy to discover, from the page of

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 296. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 191. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 52. Knox, B. i. p. 76, deeply bewailed their profligacy, and attributed to it the calamities or judgments which befell them.

history,* that the most violent religious fervour has often been conjoined with dissolute and disgraceful conduct. This was remarkably the case with those who had been besieged, and who wished to be venerated as the champions of the reformed religion. They no sooner recovered their liberty, than they committed the most scandalous excesses, and were guilty of actions, which the most strenuous advocates of the cause in which they were engaged have not attempted to excuse.

CHAP.
V.

1546.
Dissolute-
ness of the
garrison.

The interruption of the siege, and the protection which the garrison in consequence enjoyed, were of great advantage for the dissemination of the principles avowed by the reformers. Among those who, immediately after the death of Beaton, went into the castle, was John Rough, who had once resided in the governor's family. His enthusiasm led him to regard the assassination of the cardinal as an act of piety; but when enthusiasm did not exclude his judgment or pervert his feelings, he displayed much prudence, and felt the most sincere attachment to true religion and virtue.* Disgusted with the profligacy which he had laboured in vain to correct, he availed himself of the armistice to preach regularly in the town, and to enforce the sentiments which he had long zealously maintained.

Interrup-
tion of hos-
tilities fa-
vourable to
the Refor-
mation.

* Knox, B. i. p. 67. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 84. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 62. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 26; a book in which much good sense often yields to violent prejudices in favour of the divine origin of episcopacy.

CHAP. The inhabitants respected his character, and listen-
 V. ed to his instructions ; he beheld, with the most
 1547. elevated satisfaction, that the number of protestants
 rapidly increased, and was convinced that new teach-
 ers would be necessary for inculcating that truth, the
 beauty of which was daily more distinctly perceived.

In his exertions to illustrate the Scriptures he was
 now to be assisted by John Knox, who afterwards
 acted so conspicuous a part in asserting the civil and
 religious liberty of Scotland.

John Knox
 comes to St
 Andrews.

This distinguished reformer, who was born in the
 neighbourhood of Haddington, and had been edu-
 cated at the university of St Andrews, came to that
 city about Easter. He soon attracted public atten-
 tion, and gave decisive proofs of that fortitude and
 of those talents, which, through the course of an
 active and eventful life, he uniformly displayed.*
 Several of our historians have asserted that he join-
 ed the conspirators immediately after the death of
 Beaton ; and Leslie, whose firm attachment to the
 popish church led him to regard Knox with pecu-
 liar abhorrence, has, with much severity, remarked,
 that he thought he could not attain to the summit
 of evangelical perfection, unless he thus triumphed
 over the blood and murder of a priest and a car-
 dinal.† The fact, however, is, and it is established

* Knox, Book i. p. 67. Spottiswoode, Book ii. p. 85. Keith,
 Book i. ch. vi. p. 62. Wodrow's Life of Knox, Vol. VI. of his MSS.
 p. 1, 2, and 4.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 458. Holinshed, in his Chronicle, Vol. II.
 p. 253, and Heylin in his History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 141,

by evidence, which can leave no doubt on the mind of any one who attentively examines it, that he did not enter the castle, or even appear in St Andrews, till the first siege had been raised.* He had, a considerable time before this, drawn upon himself the enmity of the church. He was known to have been the confidential friend of Wishart, and various attempts had on this account been made to apprehend him. The critical situation in which he was placed, had determined him to leave his native country, and to visit Germany: but the entreaties of some of his friends, the education of whose children he had superintended, prevailed with him to relinquish the scheme, and to go to St Andrews, where, in the castle, he could be effectually protected from the antipathy of the clergy. This is the account which he has himself given of the rea-

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also represent Knox as entering the castle immediately after the slaughter of the cardinal. Mackenzie, who, in the 3d Vol. of his *Lives*, has inserted a life of Knox, could not be ignorant that the statement of the above-mentioned writers was incorrect, but, with much disingenuity, he has expressed himself as if it were accurate. His words are—"About this time cardinal Beaton being murdered, he joined the murderers;" which implies that this happened at the time of the murder, although the ambiguity of the style renders it susceptible of a different interpretation. But as Mackenzie knew that Knox did not go to the castle till the armistice had been concluded, that some writers had affirmed that he went before this, and that upon this latter supposition his conduct would have been highly culpable, he ought to have clearly stated at what time the reformer came to St Andrews.

*Knox, B. i. p. 67. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 85. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 296. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. II. p. 210. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 92.

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son for his going to the castle ; and the whole complexion of his character tends to remove every doubt of his sincerity ; for he was a stranger to the meanness which attempts to conceal the real nature of actions, by ascribing them to motives which did not lead to the commission of them. Had he intended his entering the castle as a proof of his attachment to the conspirators, he would have said so, and would not have attributed to his prudence what would have illustrated his zeal.*

His occupation there.

He had not been long in St Andrews, before he actively inculcated the reformed tenets. He had composed for the use of the young men under his charge a catechism, in which these tenets were detailed ; and he made his pupils publicly give an account of what they had been taught. He also explained to them the Gospel of St John, and he regularly repeated, in the chapel of the castle, the explanation which he had given. Rough, and some of the other most enlightened protestants, soon discerned his abilities and his intrepidity. They were deeply impressed with the importance of prevailing upon him to undertake the discharge of the ministerial duties ; and the diffidence of Rough, who shrunk from unceasing contests with the popish clergy, rendered him peculiarly earnest to obtain the support of one whom he candidly admitted to be better qualified than himself for the difficult situation in which he was placed. When the propo-

* Knox, B. i. p. 67.

sal was made to Knox, he pointed out the objections to it which pressed with the greatest force upon his own mind; and, sensible of the necessity of order in the administration of religion, he explicitly declared that he would not run where God had not called him, meaning that he would not, without a lawful vocation, intrude as a teacher into the church.*

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* Knox, B. i. p. 67. Calderwood's true History of the Church of Scotland, p. 2. Wodrow's Life of Knox, in Vol. VI. of his MS. p. 5. From the manner in which Knox expressed himself when he was solicited by his friends to undertake the ministerial office, I am convinced, that he never received priest's orders in the Popish Church. Beza indeed affirms that he did, and some of the Popish writers, who were eager to blacken his reputation by fixing upon him the reproach of apostacy, give him the appellation of Sir, usually at that time appropriated to priests. This evidence satisfied Wodrow, but he was so much struck with the inconsistency between the fact and the declaration of Knox which I have quoted, that, with Beza, he inclines to think, without any proof, that Knox had before his call been degraded from the priesthood. Dr McCrie has exhibited the evidence collected by Wodrow, and contends, as Mr Scott does in his Lives of the Scottish Reformers, that Knox was a priest. In opposition, however, to all this authority, which I highly respect, I adhere to my original opinion, that the answer of the reformer to the application of his friends establishes the contrary. He declined assuming the ministerial office, not from any doubt of his qualifications to discharge its duties, for he had previously been reading lectures in the chapel of the castle, but because he would not run where God had not called him, meaning, as he himself adds, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. But had he been a priest, although he might have been averse to do what was required of him, he could not have doubted his title to preach, for it was the title in consequence of which Rough, and all other ministers in Scotland, then officiated, and he could with no propriety have said that he was running unsent, when he had actually received a commission from those whose power to grant it he did not dispute.

But it has been urged that his words did not relate to his want of authority to become a minister, but to his not having been regularly

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V.

1547.
Manner in
which he
was called.

This did not diminish the anxiety of his friends to call forth, in the most effectual manner, his firmness and his knowledge. Rough, in a sermon which he preached upon the election of ministers,

called to a particular congregation. This appears to me altogether untenable. He had been solicited to preach by men whom he highly esteemed, and he knew that by consenting he would gratify those who were to hear his instructions. Any other call than this it was impossible for him at the present period to receive. No formal separation had yet taken place from the established church, a circumstance forgotten by Wodrow, and there could therefore be no pastoral relation between him and the people of St Andrews. He had been asked to assist Rough, whom the popish clergy had permitted to preach during the armistice, but they retained the power of withdrawing this permission, and they did actually soon withdraw it, without Knox making any complaint. From all this it seems to me to be apparent, that the point about which Knox hesitated, and the consideration of which so deeply affected him, was, whether he should become a minister when he had not a lawful vocation, or had not been ordained by those who had usually conferred ordination.

This opinion is surely much supported by the fact, that he does not, in his account of his call to the ministry, or, in as far as I can recollect, in any part of his work, make the slightest allusion to his having been a priest, which he could scarcely have failed to do, whether he believed popish ordination to be valid or not.

It is, however, extremely probable, that he had, at an early age, taken some of the minor orders recognized by the popish church; that soon after this, from his own study of Scripture and of the Fathers, he had been led to suspect that the received religion was erroneous or corrupt; that he, in consequence, stopped short in his clerical progress; and, finally, upon conversing with Williams and Wishart, renounced popery altogether. This conjecture I stated to Mr Scott, who thought it not without strong foundation, and it seems to coincide with the sentiments of the writer of that life of Knox which is prefixed to the correct edition of his History printed in 1732. This biographer quotes from David Buchanan the fact, "that Knox was advanced to church orders before the time usually allowed by the canons;" yet after giving the account of his call to the ministry at St Andrews, he remarks, "nothing can be objected against this vocation

laid down positions, which no doubt possessed peculiar justness, under the circumstances in which the reformed church then stood, but which also establish a most rational foundation for the practice which at all times should be adopted. He inculcated that every church had the power to nominate, as teachers or pastors, those whose faith and zeal were approved ; and he represented the will of the church, thus expressed, as imposing an obligation to comply with it, which should not be lightly disregarded. The obvious meaning of the preacher was, that when the ordinary mode of providing pastors was necessarily suspended, and when a separation, dictated by conscience, had taken place, from the society which had long been revered as the visible church of Christ, and which had established the mode in which admission to the sacred office was to

in the circumstances he and the Protestants in Scotland were then in." That he means here to intimate, that this vocation was all the ordination which Knox had received, is, I think, put beyond a doubt by what he immediately adds,—“All sincere lovers of the reformed cause do own his ordination to be good and valid. And indeed it would be to no purpose to enter into a dispute with some late high churchmen in England, who, by their principles, not only nullify Mr Knox's ordination, but that of all the foreign reformed churches.” These high churchmen would assuredly not have sought to nullify the ordination of Knox had it been conferred by the popish church ; and had this been conceived by the biographer to have been the case, he would not have stated anything as being in common between the ordination of Knox and that of the foreign reformed churches, certainly derived through a different channel. The question, after all, is really of little moment, in so far as concerns the history of the Reformation in Scotland.

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be obtained, it belonged to the infant church to fix upon a new method of procuring ministers, which method was afterwards to be observed by all who entered into its communion,

Having established these general principles, he, in the most solemn and impressive manner, addressed himself to Knox, enjoining him, as he tendered the glory of God, the edification of mankind, and the purity of the gospel, not to refuse the holy vocation which he now gave to him; after which, turning to the audience, he asked, — Was not this your charge to me, and do ye not approve this vocation? They answered that it was, and that they did approve.*

Reflections.

Whatever ideas may be entertained of the necessity of episcopal ordination, a mode which, viewed as a regulation of order, has many advantages, and which does not stand in need of the doubtful or disputed support given to it by those who defend it as of divine institution, and as essential to the very existence of a Christian church, it must be admitted, that a more serious and affecting designation to the ministry than the one which has been recorded, cannot be conceived; and he must surely attach to the ceremonial part of religion, a value which does not belong to it, who can have

* Knox, B. I. p. 68. His whole account of his call to the ministerial office is most interesting.

any scruple in recognizing Knox as a minister of **CHAP.**
Christ.* **V.**

The effect of it upon his own feelings he has naturally and strikingly described. He was filled with anxiety and apprehension ; for a short time he resigned himself to melancholy, and lost all relish for the pleasures of society.†

1547.
His own
feelings.

The spring of his vigorous mind soon, however, began to unfold ; his love of what he believed to be the truth roused him to exertion, and the violence of Anan, a popish priest, who had often attacked the discourses of Rough, induced him to make his first appearance in the pulpit. That appearance confirmed his friends in the wisdom of their choice, struck consternation into the advocates of the established faith, and shewed how rapidly the protest-

* Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Brit, Vol. II. p. 210. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 62. Skinner's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 27. Mackenzie's Life of Knox, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 113. These two last writers shew much asperity upon the subject of the ministry of Knox. Mackenzie, in particular, observes, not much to the honour of the cause for which he is so strenuous, " many severe reflections might be made on this ridiculous account of his ordination, but that which is obvious to all men is, that the Holy Ghost was not the least concerned in it." There is a want of reverence in such language, which cannot be too much reprobated, and which should be shunned by every man who wishes to be regarded as friendly to religion, and as a fair advocate for the cause which he wishes to defend. Collier, who had stated his sentiments in the case of Wishart, from moderation, from inadvertency, or from despair, says nothing upon the subject ; and Keith, although he did not consider the call as valid, does not write against it with violence. Wodrow in his Life of Knox, Vol. VI. MSS. p. 7, and 8, makes some very proper observations upon McKenzie's account of Knox's ordination.

† Knox, B. i. p. 68. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI, p. 5, 7, and 8.

CHAP. V. ant doctrines had gained ground in Scotland. The
 1547. object of his discourse was to prove that the pope
 His first sermon. was antichrist; that the church of Rome was corrupted; that its laws and doctrines were repugnant to those of the gospel; and that the appellations given to the pontiffs were inconsistent with just views of the nature of religion, and might be considered even as blasphemous.*

Such decided language, impressed upon the mind by his fervent eloquence, deeply agitated those who heard it. Many listened to it with the most enthusiastic admiration; declaring, that while others had hewn down the branches of popery, he had struck at the root; and all perceived how much the power of the church was weakened, when tenets, infinitely more offensive and dangerous to it than those for which Wishart had so lately been condemned to the stake, were stated and enforced in the presence of the most faithful partizans of Rome.†

The archbishop, who had not yet been consecrated, heard, with astonishment, and with indignation, of this boldness and contempt. He wrote to the sub-prior, who had acted with his accustomed moderation, finding fault with his remissness; and in

* Knox, p. 69. Collier, Vol. II. p. 210. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 6, and 7.

† Knox, B. i. p. 70. One person said, "We would counsel you to provide better defences than fire and sword, for it may be that else you will be disappointed; men now have other eyes than they had then."—Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 9.

consequence of this interference, Knox and Rough were summoned to answer certain accusations in respect of doctrine, which had been preferred against them. Knox was not intimidated by the appearance of the assembly, and probably was very confident that it would not take any violent measures against him. He therefore keenly defended what he had taught, appealing to the positive declarations of Scripture as confirming it. He derived much advantage from the intemperance of some of his opponents, who, in their eagerness to confute him, brought forward assertions which covered the best informed of their own party with confusion, and which did not escape the sarcastic wit, and the severe attacks that Knox directed against them.* The conference terminated by a friendly admonition to him to be cautious about his doctrine; and he thus, with his colleagues, really obtained the victory.†

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The clergy did not under-rate the consequences which would probably result from his activity. They were aware, that heresy was disseminating itself with the most alarming rapidity, and that it was necessary for them to neglect no method by which they could preserve their influence or secure their existence. They addressed a supplication to March. 19.

* Knox, Book i. p. 70—74. Spottiswoode, Book ii. p. 86, 87. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 2. Collier's Eccl. Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 210, 211. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. p. 4, and 7.

† Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 87. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 9.

CHAP. the governor and council, in which, after lamenting
 V. the prevalence of Luther's sentiments, the open
 1547. manner in which they were taught, and the innovations which were introduced respecting the blessed sacrament of the altar, they prayed that the spiritual authority might be speedily assisted in correcting abuses which would daily acquire strength. The council immediately returned an answer, requiring churchmen to present the names of all who were guilty of offences against religion, and promising to put the laws in execution.*

Laudable
 resolution
 of the clergy.
 87.

But the clergy did not trust solely to the secular arm. They were probably convinced, that however anxious the governor might be to weaken their enemies, the state of the country imposed on him considerable restraint ; and they adopted a resolution much more in harmony with the mild spirit of Christianity than their attempts to renew persecution ; a resolution which, had it been at an earlier period formed and carried into execution, would have probably saved the wealth, and preserved the respectability of the church. They agreed to preach in succession every Lord's-day ; and instead of irritating the passions, or rousing the innovating zeal of their audience, by discoursing upon the controverted points which had been so keenly agitated, to enlighten the people by explaining those funda-

* Keith, B. i. ch. iv. p. 62, where the application of the clergy and the answers of the council are inserted.

mental doctrines of the gospel, which all denominations of believers with reverence embraced. Even Knox was compelled to admit, not only that this had the appearance of godliness, but that the design was faithfully executed ; and although he insinuates, what perhaps was the case, that the desire of excluding him from the pulpit, which had before been open to him, suggested the resolution, he honestly confesses, that Christ Jesus was preached, and prays that so great a blessing might be continued.*

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V.

1547.

He had indeed much reason to exult over this determination of the clergy, because nothing could more decisively prove the salutary tendency of the reformation. It led even its enemies, those who had so long perpetuated the gloominess of intellectual darkness, to diffuse religious knowledge ; thus extorting their reluctant testimony, that it was adapted to exalt the character, to invigorate the mental faculties, and to open the way to the discovery, and to the triumph of divine truth.

Knox, although deprived of the opportunity of publicly preaching on the Lord's day, taught most assiduously through the week, and with so much success, that a considerable number received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the

Success of
the exer-
tions of
Knox.

* Knox, B. i. 74, 75. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 87. Mackenzie's Life of Knox, in Vol. III. of his Lives, p. 113. Wodrow's MSS. Vol VI. folio, p. 10.

CHAP.
V.

1547. protestant practice ; thus unequivocally renouncing communion with the popish church.*

Events, however, soon occurred, which put a stop to his exertions, and obscured for a season the bright prospects which had begun to open to the inhabitants of Scotland.

About the beginning of June, the absolution for which the garrison had stipulated, arrived from Rome. It contained an expression which excited the fears of those in whose favour it was granted, or perhaps rather furnished them with a pretext for breaking off the negotiation. The offensive expression, if it was really not intended to afford room for future equivocation, was most injudiciously chosen. The pope declared, that he remitted to them a crime which could not be remitted, "*remittimus crimen irremissibile* ;" and the garrison, notwithstanding the assurance that this was intended only to paint in the strongest colours the enormity of their offence, were, not without cause, apprehensive, that a future pope might cancel what was so essential to their safety.† It is, however, in the highest degree probable, that although the form of absolution had been totally unexceptionable, they would

* Knox, B. i. p. 75. Calderwood's History p. 2. Wodrow, Vol. VI. p. 10. Wodrow in his Life of Knox, p. 10, says, "This was the first time the Lord's Supper was celebrated in Scotland, after the scriptural method, since the extirpation of the Culdees, in King David's reign"

† Knox, B. i. p. 75. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 87. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 52.

have devised some reason for not fulfilling their engagements. CHAP.
V.

Henry VIII. after a long reign, disgraced by the most insolent, cruel, and capricious tyranny, expired in the end of January, and was succeeded by his amiable son Edward VI. The council of the young monarch, pursuing the policy of the deceased king, received the emissaries whom the murderers of Beaton sent to them; and even during the interval of the siege, a treaty had been concluded, which secured to the conspirators the assistance of England, and clearly shewed that they had no intention to deliver the castle to the Scottish government.*

The accomplished monarch of France did not long survive Henry. He died in the end of March, and his throne was filled by his son, Henry II. This prince, submitting himself in a great measure to the direction of the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorrain, the uncles of the infant Mary, entered warmly into the affairs of Scotland, and

1547.
Death of
Henry
VIII.
Govern-
ment of
Edward
adopt his
policy to-
wards Scot-
land.

Death of
Francis.

His succe-
sor resolves
to support
the Scottish
govern-
ment.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, Vol. XV. This convention between Edward VI. and certain Scots gentlemen, is dated at the castle of St Andrews, March 9th, 1547; and in it they engage to use their endeavours to have the marriage accomplished. They bind themselves not to deliver the castle to the queen-dowager or the regent during the queen's minority, and to give up the regent's son to the king. Edward, on his part, agrees to maintain for them 120 foot and 40 horse, to furnish them with artillery and ammunition, to grant them pensions, and to put them in possession of their estates in Scotland, or make them amends in England. There were also conditions proposed by Patrick Lord Gray, Lord of Angus, dated at the castle of St Andrews, March 11, 1547. These also had for their object to facilitate the execution of Edward's designs with regard to Scotland.

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promised to the government of that country every assistance in opposing the union with England. Accordingly, soon after his succession, he dispatched an ambassador to unfold his intentions to the regent, and the queen-dowager, who, relying upon such powerful co-operation, felt no wish to grant to men, whom they regarded as in a state of rebellion, the favourable conditions which they had pledged themselves to fulfil.*

Indignation
against
England.

The confidence of Arran was increased, and the resolution to which it led him was strengthened by the unanimity of the nobles. The Earl of Angus, Sir George Douglas, and several of the most distinguished of those who had formed the English faction, beheld with indignation Henry's breach of treaty in assisting the conspirators; and they determined to obliterate their former perfidy to their country, by giving to it, at this critical period, their most strenuous support.†

Under these circumstances, neither party wished for peace. The governor commenced hostilities against England, and the garrison retired to the castle. Rough, their former chaplain, did not join them. Disapproving of their licentious conduct, and probably despairing of their amending it, he went into England, and obtained a living there.

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 460. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 21. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. Acta Regia, Vol. III. p. 375.

† Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 51. Guthrie's History of Scotland, Vol. V. p. 307.

During the sanguinary reign of Mary, he was compelled to fly to a foreign country, in which he supported himself and his family by the exercise of a mechanical profession. Having come to London to supply himself with necessary materials, he was arrested, and, upon the most frivolous grounds, was condemned to the flames.*

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V.
1547.

Knox, however, resolved to unite his fate with that of men whose interest led them to support the opinions of the protestants. He shut himself up with them, and sternly reproving them for their vices, he delivered, in the form of a prediction, the intimation of the calamities, which, from his general sentiments of divine providence, he had no doubt would overtake them, for having disregarded the most obvious duties of morality and religion.†

Knox retires to the castle.

The governor, who was convinced of the hostile intentions of England, had, in the beginning of summer, assembled an army for the purpose of recovering some fortresses on the borders, and for restraining the predatory incursions which he apprehended.‡ While he was engaged in this service, he was joined by the Earl of Rothes, who had just returned from Denmark; and, as the activity of his brother and of his son in the murder of the car-

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 87.

† Knox, B. i. p. 76. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 296. Wodrow, Vol. VI. p. 11.

‡ Leslie, Lib. x. p. 460. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 296. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 192. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 233.

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1547.

dinal, excited suspicion that he was accessory to it, he was put on his trial, and, under the most disadvantageous circumstances, was declared innocent.*

The forces which the French monarch had promised, appeared in the bay of St Andrews in June ; and the governor, having received intimation of their arrival, hastened to join them with his troops. The siege of the castle was now begun and prosecuted with vigour. The artillery, in the management of which the French were much more expert than their Scottish allies, was judiciously directed, and the destruction occasioned by it, conjoined with the devastation of a pestilential distemper, which cut off many of the garrison, compelled them to surrender, before the succours which they expected from England could come to their relief. They refused, however, to deliver themselves to Arran. They gave up the castle to the French general, who, availing himself of the honour, appropriated the treasure which it contained, and carried it off to his own country. The governor's son was released, and the garrison became prisoners of war upon the following conditions ; " That their lives should be spared ; that they should be sent into France ; and, that if they were displeased with their reception in that kingdom, they should be conveyed, at the expence of the French monarch, into any country which they mentioned, except Scotland." The castle was then laid in ruins, and part of it was

It surren-
ders.

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 460. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 232.

razed to the ground, either in conformity to the canon law, which requires that no building in which the blood of a cardinal had been shed, should be permitted to remain; or, what is more probable, from an apprehension that England might get possession of the fortification, and from it harass the neighbouring districts, or distract the attention of the Scottish armies.* Knox shared the hard destiny of the conspirators. He was carried abroad, and, in violation of what had been promised, was condemned to remain the whole ensuing winter in the galleys.†

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V.

1547.
Is destroy-
ed.

Fate of
the garri-
son.

The fate of this illustrious man, from his thus leaving Scotland, till he returned to it, I shall relate when he again appears as an active promoter of the reformation; I hasten now to detail the calamities which spread wretchedness through this unfortunate kingdom, but which were instrumental in introducing that liberty, and that prosperity, which it is her happiness long to have enjoyed.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 296. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 461. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 234. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 192. Knox, B. i. p. 76, 77. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 88. Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, B. iv. p. 142. Collier's Eccles. History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 211. Keith B. i. ch. v. p. 53. That the castle was demolished rather from views of policy than of religion, is probable from the circumstance, that a considerable part of the walls were left untouched, and still remain at their original height; while the canon law requires that no vestige of a building in which the blood of a cardinal had been shed, should be permitted to remain.

† Knox, B. i. p. 79. Spottiswoode and Keith, as last quoted.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

Exultation of the Clergy....War with England....Protector invades Scotland....Preparations of Arran....Battle of Pinky .. Defeat of the Scottish army.Conduct of the Protector after the battle.His success promotes the reformation in Scotland....Views of the Queen-Dowager....Intrepidity of the Governor....French army arrives in Scotland ..Deliberations respecting the young Queen .She is sent to France ...This disapproved by the Protestants ..Connexion with France becomes unpopular....Conduct of the French troops....Peace restored....Attempts made to extirpate heresy....Wallace condemned....Frivolous controversies of the Clergy....Synod....Catechism published ..Renewal of acts against heresy....Efforts to reform the Clergy ineffectual.

CHAP.
VI.
1547.
Exultation
of the
Clergy.

THE reduction of the castle filled the friends of the established faith with the highest delight. They gratified themselves with the idea, so often hastily and uncharitably entertained, that the divine indignation had been plainly manifested against their enemies; and, freed from the unwearied efforts of the most zealous and most able of the new preachers, they fondly hoped that the public mind would

recover its tranquillity, and that they would soon eradicate every vestige of heresy.* There can be little doubt that they would now have urged the governor and council to fulfil the promise of proceeding with severity against the opponents of the church, had not the kingdom been soon threatened with a calamity which engrossed the attention of all classes of men; the apprehension of which extinguished in patriotism the solicitude about religious distinctions, and even the eagerness for ecclesiastical dominion.

Henry had never relinquished his favourite scheme of uniting the British kingdoms by a marriage between Edward and Mary; and he had left an instruction to the guardians of his son to strain every nerve for its accomplishment.† The ardour which the protector felt to promote the protestant religion, rendered him anxious to make the attempt. He did not, however, wisely improve the favourable opportunity which was presented to him. Instead of examining with accuracy the prejudices or the character of the nation with which he wished his sovereign to be so closely connected—instead of having recourse to negotiation, and of removing, by the most candid and liberal professions of friendship, the antipathy which the injudicious and unprincipled

War with
England.

* Knox, B. i. p. 77.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 461. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 297. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 8. Acta Regia, Vol. III. Burnet, Vol. II.

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1547.

conduct of Henry had excited,—he resorted to that pernicious policy, the uselessness of which reason and experience united to demonstrate, seeking to gain his object by declaring war, and by collecting troops to break the spirit, which the inhabitants of Scotland had so honourably displayed.*

Aug. 21.

Having assembled a numerous army, and taken out a commission, in which he was nominated as the general, he began his march.†

Prepara-
tions of
Arran.

The intelligence of such a formidable force having been levied against his country, filled the irresolute mind of Arran with momentary apprehension and dismay. He was sensible that the fickleness and inconsistency which had marked his conduct, had destroyed the confidence and affection, which, at the commencement of his administration, he had possessed; while he dreaded that the numerous partizans of the family of Lennox would enter with coldness into any measures, which they knew that their accomplished chief would not approve.‡

* Some of the English historians represent the protector as having been averse to this war. Had he been so, he had sufficient influence to prevent it, or at least to employ gentler methods before having recourse to it. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 8.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 32. Heylin's Ecclesia Restaurata, or History of the Reformation of the Church of England, published at London, 1670, p. 43. Patten's Diary of Somerset's Expedition into Scotland, published by Dalzell in his Fragments of Scottish History.

‡ Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 297. Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 462. Heylin's History of the Reformation of the Church of England, p. 43, 44.

The urgency of the danger, however, restored to him the vigour and decision which were requisite for defence. He called out the forces of the nation, in that mode which had been employed only in cases of the most perilous emergency, and which could not fail to stimulate all who were attached to their native land. He excited the patriotism of the people, by representing, in strong colours, the slavery with which they were threatened, and by recalling whatever was calculated to revive or to increase the ancient detestation of England; and he conjoined their immediate interest with the discharge of their duty, by promising rewards to those who distinguished themselves by their bravery, and a comfortable provision for the families of all who should lose their lives in the glorious conflict.* The enthusiasm, which the love of liberty and of independence has sometimes produced in a generous people, was, by all these methods, kindled in Scotland. Every description of men hastened to the standard of the governor; and he soon saw himself at the head of an army which doubled in numbers that of the English, and which was actuated by a spirit, difficult indeed to restrain,

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1547.

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 463. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 235. Pitcottie, p. 192, 193. Black Acts, fol. 146, quoted by Grainger in his continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 871. Murray's Collection of Laws and Acts of Parliament, 140. Paton's preface to his Diary, p. 12, in Dalryell's Fragments.

CHAP. but which, had it been properly directed, would
VI. have overwhelmed the invaders.*

1547.

Somerset had indulged the hope, that he would meet with little opposition to his progress, and that his vigorous measures would anticipate every effort to resist him. When, therefore, upon approaching Musselburgh, a small town a few miles distant from Edinburgh, he beheld the warlike appearance, and the extended encampment of Arran's army, he was filled with astonishment and alarm. His situation he perceived to be in the highest degree hazardous, Provisions could not long be in sufficient abundance procured, the supplies from the fleet were precarious, and retreat would be attended with the utmost risk, or even with total destruction.†

In this critical emergency, he determined to do what he ought to have done before he declared war. He wrote to the governor, representing to him, in the strongest language, the calamities which would result to both nations from the continuance of hostility; deprecating the slaughter which an engagement would occasion; pointing out how much the marriage between their respective sovereigns

* Burnet, Vol. II. p. 33. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 88. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 462. Patten's preface to his Diary, as before quoted. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 229.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 32. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 198. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 298. Rapin, Vol. II. p. 8. Almost all historians agree that Somerset, after coming to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, shewed much anxiety not to proceed to extremities, which must have arisen from the unexpected difficulties of his situation.

would contribute to the peace and prosperity of Britain ; and professing to be so eager to prevent an engagement, that he would depart from what had once been agreed with Henry, and would only require, that the queen of Scotland should not be given in marriage to a foreign prince, till she had attained the years of maturity.*

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1547.

This manifesto abounds with the justest sentiments, and with the most enlarged views of policy. But when the passions have been irritated, it is vain to hope for the calm decisions which reason would dictate. The regent and his council, not unnaturally, attributed this tardy moderation to the fears of the protector ; and they resolved to decide by arms the probable fate of their country. That the artful proposals, however, of the English general might not extinguish the ardour of the army, or produce any difference of sentiment among the powerful nobles who commanded the divisions of which it was composed, Arran, by the advice of his brother, the archbishop of St Andrews, suppressed the letter, and, with unpardonable disingenuity or falsehood, circulated the report, that the protector

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 267. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 88, 89. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 33. Keith, Book. i. ch. v. p. 53. Heylin, in his History of the Reformation, p. 42, affirms, that this letter, or manifesto, was sent to Arran before Somerset marched for Scotland ; but this is evidently a mistake, and is contrary to the clear testimony of almost all other writers of that period. Had the proposition been made at the time mentioned by Heylin, it would have led to a negotiation.

CHAP. VI. aimed at the complete destruction of Scottish inde-
 1547. pendence, being resolved to carry off the queen,
 and to reduce the nation to the most humiliating
 state of subjection.*

Battle of
 Pinky.

All possibility of amicable adjustment being now destroyed, both generals prepared for the awful struggle, upon the issue of which they conceived so much to depend. Arran had, at one time, wisely determined to avoid a pitched battle, and to employ his army in skirmishes, or in cutting off the supplies of the enemy; but he either had not steadiness to adhere to so judicious a scheme, or the impetuosity and false confidence of his troops, excited or increased by the priests, who predicted that the heretics would not stand before them, compelled him to relinquish it.†

Somerset saw the infinite importance of profiting by this ardour, and of deciding the campaign by a general action. Having made a well-judged movement, with the design of drawing from their position the governor's forces, these forces left the favourable situation which they should have retained. They crossed the river Esk in three divisions, commanded by the Earls of Angus, Arran, and Huntly, exposed

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 297, 298. Knox, B. i. p. 78. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 89. Lindsay, p. 193. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 237, 238. Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 45. Burnet's do. Vol. II. p. 33, 34. Rapin's History, Vol. II. p. 8. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 58.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 462. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 238. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 89.

to the galling fire of the English ships, and advanced against the enemy with an impetuosity which exhausted their strength. Somerset, in the meantime, had made a masterly arrangement of his army; but the eagerness of Lord Grey, who had been successful in a skirmish which took place the day before, and who was anxious to signalize his valour, nearly counteracted the protector's plan, and almost occasioned a defeat. Grey hastily advanced with the cavalry against the van of the Scottish army, commanded by Angus; but, instead of dispersing it, his men were received upon the long spears of their opponents, and were compelled to retreat. The coolness and intrepidity of the Earl of Warwick retrieved the error, and the English army again formed. Angus having now found it necessary to shift his position, that he might be protected from the fire, which, in every direction, poured on him, his countrymen supposed that he had been put to flight, and, resigning themselves to terror, they fled in the utmost confusion. The protector pressed upon the scattered squadrons, and, while he lost very few of his own men, he slew fifteen thousand of the Scotch. This battle, so destructive, and so disgraceful to Scotland, was fought in the neighbourhood of Pinky, and from that place has taken its name.*

CHAP.
VI,

1547.

September,
Defeat of
the Scottish
army.

Sept. 10th,

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 298. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 463, 464. Knox, B. i. p. 78, 79. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 238, 239. Lindsay of Pittscottie, p. 194, 195. Heylin's History of the Reformation

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VI.1547.
Conduct of
the Protec-
tor after
the battle.

The governor and the queen-dowager, in consternation, reached Stirling, and the victorious Somerset, loaded with plunder, assailed Leith, and endeavoured to get possession of Edinburgh. Had he improved a victory so decisive, he might have reduced Scotland, at least for some time, to an English province. After the battle, however, we look in vain for the judgment which he had previously shewn. He was unable to take the castle of Edinburgh; and after having burned Leith, plundered some of the insignificant towns on the Frith of Forth, seized a few of the islands which are scattered in it, and planted a garrison in the castle of Broughty, which commands the estuary of the Tay, he marched for England.*

Sept. 18th.

The precipitation with which he left Scotland, was not owing solely to his being incapable of making a deeper impression, but also to his apprehensions about the stability of his own power. He had, in the court of his nephew, many enemies; a meeting of parliament was soon to take place; and he was much more deeply interested in the discussions of that assembly, or in the intrigues to which they might give rise, than in the conquest of Mary's dominions.†

of the Church of England, p. 45, 46. Patten's Diary in Dalryell's Fragments of Scottish History. Stowe's Annals, p. 594.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 299. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 465. Burnet, Vol. II. p. 34. Heylin's History, p. 46, 47. Keith, Book. i. ch. v. p. 54.

† Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, and Heylin's do. as last quoted.

But, whatever were the motives by which he was influenced, he was unquestionably guilty of great political errors, in the whole of his conduct subsequent to the victory. If, from any cause, he judged it advisable not fully to prosecute the advantages which he had gained, the slightest reflection might have suggested to him the course which it was wise to follow. He should have soothed the irritated feelings of the Scotch by the most unequivocal display of moderation ; he should have restrained every attempt to desolate the country ; and thus have convinced the people of the benefits which they might expect from the alliance of a great and a generous nation. Had the terror, inspired by defeat, been dissipated by the tenderness and humanity which, at such a season, would have been doubly affecting, the great object which he professed to have in view might have been accomplished, or at least the chief obstacles to it would have been removed. Instead of acting in this manner, he committed the most useless and the most harassing devastation ; he clearly shewed the hypocrisy of those professions, which before the battle he had made ; he strengthened the prejudices which had been entertained against the marriage of the queen with his sovereign ; and almost every inhabitant of Scotland would have returned the answer upon this subject, which the gallant Huntly, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Pinky, resolutely

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1547.

CHAP. VI. gave—"I could well enough brook the wedding, but I do not like the kind of wooing."*

1547.
His success
promotes
the Refor-
mation in
Scotland.

The success of the English, dreadful as it was in many of its consequences, was certainly favourable to the progress and to the security of the reformation in Scotland. The avowed attachment of Edward and his council to the protestant faith, left not a doubt that they would extend their protection to all who embraced it; and the governor saw the wisdom of not irritating a prince, the formidable nature of whose power he had so recently experienced.

It was also necessary to guard against future invasion by uniting the energy of the whole community; and this could not be done, while a great part of those who formed it were smarting under persecution. In addition to this, secret intrigues occupied the attention of Arrán, of the queen-dowager, and of the leading men among the clergy; and the result of this combination of causes was a season of tranquillity to the protestants, which they did not fail to improve.†

Views of
the Queen-
Dowager.

The queen-dowager professed to regard the calamities of Scotland with the deepest affliction; but there can be little doubt that she felt secret satisfaction at the unhappy issue of the governor's schemes and exertions, desirous as she was to wrest

* Heylin's History of the Reformation of the Church of England, p. 46. Crawford's Lives of Officers of Crown and State, p. 84.

† Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 62, 63.

from him his popularity, and thus to pave the way for her own exaltation to the regency, which, even at this early period, had suggested itself to her mind.* With a view to this, while she kept upon a decent footing with Arran, she countenanced those who were known to be most dissatisfied with his administration; and she looked with indulgence to the protestants, whose affections had been estranged from a man whom they execrated as an apostate. To carry her great design into execution, it was necessary to draw closely the ties which united Scotland with France. She therefore readily listened to a proposal of the governor, and of the nobility who adhered to him, to call in the aid of the French monarch; and she embraced this opportunity to suggest and enforce the propriety of sending her daughter to be educated in that prince's court.† A matter of such importance could not be hastily decided; and it was agreed that the queen should, in the meantime, reside in the castle of Dunbarton, under the care of persons thought worthy of so interesting a charge.‡

The mind of Arran was not shaken by the misfortunes of his country. Far from sinking in despair, he, with much eloquence and strength of reasoning, urged the prosecution of the war, and

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1547.

Intrepidity
of Arran.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 299.

† Leslie, Lib. x. p. 466. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 299. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 241, 242. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 54.

‡ Buchanan and Leslie, as last quoted. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 89.

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spoke with the most affecting energy against an alliance with England.* But he was not able to act with a vigour corresponding to the decisive tone which he had assumed. After in vain endeavouring to reduce the trifling fortress of Broughty, he returned to Stirling to wait for the succours which the king of France, delighted with the application which had been made to him, and with the prospect of receiving into his dominions the Scottish queen, had promised to send.†

1548.
June.
French
army ar-
rives in
Scotland.

At length six thousand men, under D'Essé, a general of some military eminence, but totally destitute of the prudence and delicacy requisite for such a command, arrived in Scotland.‡ Arran united his forces to those of his illustrious ally; and the army encamped before Haddington, determined to attempt the reduction of that town, which the English had taken in the beginning of the year, and had strongly fortified.§

July 7th.

It was at this time that a convention of the estates, or rather a parliament, for so it is called in the acts of parliament 1558, was held for the purpose of deciding upon the proposal respecting the future residence of the sovereign. The French

* Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 54.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 299. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 466. Knox, B. i. p. 80.

‡ Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 300. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 468.

§ Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 300. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 468. Knox, B. i. p. 80. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 246. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 89. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 54, 55.

monarch had used every method to secure a decision agreeable to his wishes. He had offered to Arran gifts and honours, which that nobleman shewed no reluctance to accept; and, by similar means, most of the chief men of the kingdom were seduced to support the schemes which were so soon carried into execution.* The impolitic conduct of the governor decided the opinion of some, and others were really convinced that, by consenting to the queen's departure, they were consulting the peace and the domestic tranquillity of their country.

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VI.
1548.
Deliberations respecting the young Queen.

There were a few, however, who saw all the evils which were connected with the removal of the queen. They advised that the estates should acquiesce in the last proposals of Somerset; that Mary should be educated in Scotland, and should choose a husband when she had reached mature years; and they endeavoured to convince the assembly, that while peace with England would thus be secured for a long period, the queen would not be precluded from forming a matrimonial connexion with France, if that should ultimately be esteemed more advantageous than the marriage with Edward. But the force of reason was employed in vain to influence men, whose resolutions were previously fixed by the most interested and unworthy

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 300. Spottiswoode, p. 89, 90. Knox, B. i. p. 80.

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VI.

1548.

considerations. Some ostensible grounds, however, in support of what they had determined to do, were exhibited. They argued, that as long as Mary remained in her own dominions, the attempts of England to accomplish the marriage would be incessantly renewed; whereas, the conviction that this was impossible—a conviction which her departure would necessarily produce, might, by removing the great cause of war, soon lead to that permanent peace which was so much desired.*

She is sent
to France.

A great majority decided that the young queen should be immediately sent to France. A few vessels belonging to that nation sailed round to Dunbarton—she was taken on board, and, after an unfavourable voyage, she was landed on the French shore, and placed under the protection of Henry, to be educated in the political and religious principles of the family of Guise.†

Upon her arrival at court, different sentiments were entertained respecting the matrimonial alliance which she should form. Her mother had stipulated, that she should be married to the dauphin; and the king, fortified in his opinion by the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine, was eager for the match. Some of the oldest and most experienced counsellors, saw the matter in a different

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 300. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 470. Black Acts. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 89, 90. Burnet's Hist. Vol. II. p. 80. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 55. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 247.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 300. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 470. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 55.

light, and advised that she should be given in marriage to a duke or prince of France, and that both of them should reside in Scotland. This plan was dictated by the soundest policy. They who supported it, contended, that, in the absence of princes, their representatives too often exercised tyranny, which provoked to rebellion; and that if this should happen in Scotland, that country, far from being an acquisition to the French monarchy, would occasion perpetual wars, conducted at an enormous expence.*

Happily for the progress of the reformation, this scheme was rejected. Had it been carried into execution, the kingdom of Mary would probably have been incorporated with France; and the immense power of that country, unceasingly exerted to crush the new opinions, would have weakened their influence, and might have eradicated them from Scotland.

The protestants, although they had been exasperated by the violence of the English council, severely condemned the resolution of sending the queen to France. They were thoroughly acquainted with the intolerance and bigotry of her mother's relations; they knew that their sentiments would be anxiously instilled into the mind of a princess possessing such advantages for disseminating them; and they dreaded that the loose fascinating manners

This disapproved by the Protestants.

* Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, p. 7 and 8.

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1548.

of the French court, captivating her youthful affections, might estrange her from the rugged sternness of her own subjects. Her marriage with the dauphin, of which all doubt was soon removed, increased their alarm ; and they contemplated, with the gloomiest apprehension, the dark prospect which now was disclosed to them.*

Con-
nection with
France be-
comes un-
popular.

The fact of the queen's departure was no sooner generally known, than the eyes of many were opened to the pernicious policy by which that step had been dictated ; and the feelings of indignation or of dissatisfaction which this alone would have excited, were raised to the utmost height by the conduct of the French general, and of the troops which he commanded.

Conduct of
the French
troops.

The vivacity and gaiety of that formidable people have, through many ages, been little connected with humanity and moderation. They have been uniformly execrated by the nations which they vanquished, and been regarded as the worst of enemies by the allies whom they professed to serve. During the reign of Francis I., they rendered themselves odious in Italy ; and it has been the misfortune of the present age, to see the blemishes, or the vices, by which they have been long stained, shockingly aggravated, and displayed upon the wide theatre of continental Europe. Scotland did not escape the

* Knox, B. i. p. 80.

insulting arrogance under which other states had suffered. The troops of Henry gallantly discharged their military duties, exerted themselves with their accustomed bravery against the English, and performed several signal exploits; but they outraged the feelings, despised the habits, and even violated the property of their Scottish friends. Upon the most trivial occasions, they burst forth into the riot of licentiousness; and in one instance, irritated by some unexpected opposition, they presumptuously resisted the authority of the chief magistrate of Edinburgh, and, in a tumult which succeeded, they slew him, with his son, who had hastened to his support.* D'Essé endeavoured to efface the unfavourable impression which this outrage had made, by a bold but unsuccessful attempt to wrest Haddington from the English; and the queen-dowager, and the French ambassador, perceiving that the people were violently exasperated, petitioned the king of France to recal the general, against whom popular indignation was strongly directed. With this request that monarch instantly complied. Nothing, however, could obliterate from the public mind the insolence and the enormity of these foreign auxiliaries, and hatred of a connection with France every day acquired strength. The sentiments which

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 473, who gives a very just and striking account of the outrage, and of the consequences which resulted from it. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 307. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 249, 250. Knox, B. i. p. 81, 82. Lindsay of Pittscottie, p. 197, 198.

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1548.

now were called into existence exerted a powerful effect upon the future fate of Mary, and led those who entertained them to aggravate her failings, and to conduct themselves towards her with a degree of harshness and irreverence, which not only wounded her peace, but perhaps contributed in no small degree to undermine her virtue.*

The war was continued, with various success, for two years after the departure of the queen. Much injury was done by the fleets of England to the unfortunate inhabitants of the maritime towns of Scotland, but no real advantage was gained.† The Scots, supported by France, defeated the great scheme of the protector to reduce their country to subjection; and at length, all hope of effectuating the marriage being at an end, both nations became anxious for peace, which, though the greatest of temporal blessings, the folly and the passions of mankind so lightly value, and unhappily so seldom retain.

1550.
Peace re-
stored.

The war with France had exhausted the resources and tarnished the glory of England; and it was difficult to raise the supplies requisite for new efforts. This led to a negotiation between Henry and Edward; a peace not favourable to England

March 24. was concluded, and Scotland was comprehended in

* Leslie, as last quoted. Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 302. Knox, B. i. p. 82. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 84, 85.

† Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 300, 301.

the treaty. The queen of Scotland having intimated her acquiescence in what respected her dominions, peace was proclaimed, and tranquillity restored to Britain.*

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VI.
1548.

The external danger which had so long threatened Scotland being thus removed, domestic dissensions again burst forth. The church renewed her attack against heresy, and the clergy, with the concurrence of government, had recourse to that violence, the inefficacy of which experience might now, even in their estimation, have fully confirmed. The regent gave to them his decided support. He was completely under the direction of his natural brother, the primate, who sought to compensate for a dissolute life, and to counteract the effect of it, by that intemperate zeal, which has so often been manifested by the most profligate and irreligious of men.†

He commenced his persecution by the trial and condemnation of Adam Wallace, whose humble station might have secured him from notice, and whose death could only exasperate the minds of

1551.
Wallace
condemned.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 302. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 482. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 258. Rymer's Fœdera, Vol. XV. Acta Regia, Vol. III. p. 372, 373. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 90. Keith, B. i. ch. y. p. 55, 56. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 198.

† Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 86, where the profligacy of the primate is mentioned. Mackenzie, in his Life of the Archbishop, attempts to soften the charge, but not successfully. Crawford's Life of the Archbishop, in Lives of Officers of State, p. 381.

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VI.

1551.

those who were attached to the faith for which he suffered. He was cited to appear in the church of the Blackfriars in Edinburgh; and much importance must have been attached to the issue, or to the consequences of the trial, for not only the governor himself, but the Earls of Huntly, Angus, Glencairn, Argyll, and several other noblemen, sat in judgment. He was accused of assuming the office of a preacher, of denying several fundamental tenets of the popish religion, and of baptizing one of his own children. His answers to these articles evidenced a sincerity and an acuteness, which might have shewn to his judges the folly of persisting in their intention to condemn him. But his fate was decided, and Huntly treated him with an indecent and inhuman violence, equally unbecoming his high rank, and the sacred office of a judge, which he then held. The unhappy man was declared guilty, and the usual sentence of condemnation was pronounced against him. He spent the night preceding his execution in exercises of piety; and having been prevented from addressing the people who had assembled to witness his death, he submitted to his dismal fate with a degree of patience and of tranquil resignation, which at all times must have made a deep impression upon men not callous to humanity, but which, in the state of opinion at this period, were regarded with an enthusiasm confirming attachment to the new doctrines, and strength-

ening the horror with which the abettors of such cruelty had long been regarded.*

While the clergy, by inhumanity so incompatible with the merciful spirit of Christianity, thus disgusted their countrymen, they exposed themselves to their contempt, [by the frivolous controversies in which they engaged, and by the gross ignorance of the very first principles of religion, which, in conducting these controversies, they displayed. A most remarkable example of this occurred about the time of which I now write, and we cannot wonder that the enemies of the church took advantage of it, to recommend and to confirm their own principles.]

CHAP.
VI.

1551.
Frivolous
controversies of the
clergy.

Richard Marshal, prior of the Blackfriars at Newcastle, had been in St Andrews, and had maintained, in a sermon, the very obvious doctrine, that the Lord's prayer should be addressed only to God, and not to saints. This position, harmless as it was true, excited the indignation of some of the doctors of the university, and they very idly employed another friar to confute it. They were as injudicious in the choice of their advocate, as they had been of the cause for which they wished him to contend. He was ignorant, but full of confidence in his own talents and attainments; and he delivered a de-

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 90, 91. Knox, B. i. p. 87, 88. This writer mentions, by mistake, that Wallace suffered on the afternoon of the same day upon which he was condemned. Crawford's Life of Archbishop Hamilton, p. 376. Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol. II. p. 319, 320. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 63. He dates the trial in 1550.

CHAP.
VI.

1551.

fence of the tenet espoused by the university, which, more strongly than any reasoning, exposed its absurdity. He affirmed that the Lord's prayer might be said to saints, because all the petitions in it had a relation to them. This strange assertion he thus illustrated : If we meet an old man in the streets, we say to him good-morrow, father ; much more then may we say to one of the saints, our father : We admit that they are in heaven, consequently we may address any of them, our father in heaven : God hath made their names holy, we may, therefore, in praying to one of them, use the expression, hallowed be thy name : As they are in the kingdom of heaven, that kingdom is theirs by possession, and we may justly say to each of them, in the language of the petition, thy kingdom come. In this manner he attempted to shew the propriety of addressing to the saints all the petitions. But the people, although they were only beginning to emerge from the gloominess of ignorance, listened to him with contempt ; they were even unable to preserve the gravity becoming a place of worship, and the children, amused with what had excited so much ridicule, denominated the unlucky priest Friar Pater Noster.*

It is from such anecdotes, ludicrous as they are, that we can often most satisfactorily determine the

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 91. Mackenzie's *Life of Archbishop Hamilton*, in Vol. III. of his *Lives*, p. 103, 104. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 63. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*, Vol. II. p. 320.

state of sentiment, and of intellectual improvement, at the period when they happened.

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VI.

1551.

The oration of the friar might have made the clergy, or the doctors of the university, ashamed of the discussion ; but this was far from being the case. The doctors now applied to it the quibbling and subtle distinctions of their ridiculous logic, and probably were much delighted with the ingenuity which they displayed. Some of them maintained that the Lord's prayer was said to God *formaliter*, and to the saints *materialiter* ; others held that it was said to God *principaliter*, and to the saints *minus principaliter* ; but after fully discussing the merit of these and some other explanations, the greater number concluded, that it should be said to God *capiendo strictè*, to the saints *capiendo largè*. Upon such intricate speculations, however, the learned members of the university did not wish to trust altogether to their own judgment, and they referred the decision of the point to a provincial synod, which had been summoned to meet on the following January.

The numerous and long-protracted meetings of the doctors naturally excited the curiosity of the people, and a confidential servant of the sub-prior presumed to ask what had occasioned them. His master, with great good humour, told him the subject of debate, and the servant, guided by the dictates of common sense, with some surprise asked, To whom should the Lord's prayer be said but unto

CHAP.
VI.

1552.

God? The sub-prior replied, What should be done with the saints?—The answer very strikingly shews that the popular reverence for the popish faith was beginning to be shaken,—Give them ave's and credo's enow, in the devil's name, for that may suffice them.*

Synod.

The death of Wallace had so little benefited the church, that the archbishop was convinced of the necessity of taking new measures, and it was to concert these that the synod to which I have alluded had been summoned. It is painful to think that much time was consumed in it in considering the idle controversy which had originated at St Andrews. The clergy, however, brought it to an issue, determining that the Lord's prayer should be said to God, yet so that the saints also ought to be invoked. After thus darkening the subject which they meant to illustrate, they proceeded to more important deliberations.†

The assiduity and success with which the reformed teachers diffused the knowledge of Scripture, alarmed men whose influence rested upon the continuation of ignorance, and of implicit faith. As this, however, could not be prevented, they resolved that the exclusive merit of such interesting instruction should not belong only to those whom they denounced as heretics, but that they would themselves now, in some measure, open to the ca-

* Spottiswoode, Mackenzie, Keith, Collier, as last quoted.

† Writers last quoted.

tholic church that sacred volume, which, for ages, they had buried in obscurity. They accordingly published a catechism, containing a short but clear explanation of the ten commandments, the apostle's creed, and the Lord's prayer. The officiating priests were enjoined to read a part of it when there was no sermon; and it was circulated through the country with a diligence which was the most severe satire upon the former conduct of the clergy.

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1552.
Catechism
published.

It is commonly supposed that this catechism was composed by the archbishop. It is written with great moderation, and does much credit to his talents and to his theological attainments. There is not much pointed allusion to subjects of controversy; and had it derived its origin from an unfeigned desire to enlighten mankind, it would have reflected upon the primate the most deserved reputation. It was sold for twopence of Scots money; a sum so inconsiderable, that, even in these days, when the value of money was so much higher than at present, it could not have defrayed the expence of printing. It was, in fact, printed at the expence of the archbishop, and this small charge was probably intended to compensate for the trouble of spreading the book through the kingdom. The great part of the inhabitants of Scotland received, however, with little gratitude, what they considered as an extorted gift; undervalued the merit which it

CHAP. VI. really possessed, and with derision termed it the
 1532. Twopenny Faith.*

It is pleasant to dwell upon this interesting step to improvement. It shews, in the most striking light, the admirable tendency of the reformation,

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 92. Mackenzie's Life of Archbishop Hamilton, in the 3d Vol. of his Lives, p. 104. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, &c. p. 377. Keith, p. 63, with the note annexed.

There is a copy of this catechism in the university library at St Andrews. In the title page, it is said "to be set forth be the maist reverend father in God, Johne, archbishop of Sanct Androuis, legat nait, and primat of the kirk of Scotland, in his provincial counsaile, haldin at Edinburgh the 26th day of Januarie, the zeir of our Lord 1551 (according to our computation, 1552,) with the advise and counsaile of the bishoppis and other prelatiis, with doctours of theologie and canon law of the said realme of Scotland present for the tyme." It is a small quarto, containing several hundred pages, or, as it is marked, folios, and is printed in black letter. There is in the title page a quotation from St Augustine's book on the Trinity, which very aptly expresses the views of the archbishop and his council. "*Contra rationem nemo sobrius, contra Scripturam nemo Christianus, contra ecclesiam nemo pacificus senserit.*" In the address prefixed to the work, the archbishop thus declares his anxiety to enlighten the people: "After that the divine providence of God had promovit us to the office of ane archbishop and general primacie of this kirk of Scotland, we thoct oftymes that nathing cald be to God mair plesand, to the Christin pepil mair expedient, and to our office mair convenient and consonant, than with all diligence to provide that the Christin pepil (of quhome we have spiritual care under God) mycht be instruckit in the faith and law of God, with ane uniforme and concordant doctrine of Christis religion, agreabil in all pointis to the catholick veritie of halie kirk." Nothing, surely, could be more suitable to the office of the primate than to instruct the people; but this had not been for many ages the opinion of his predecessors, and would not probably have been his own, had he not believed that such instruction as that to which he alluded was necessary for counteracting the influence of the protestant teachers. The whole catechism,

which not only directly contributed to the intellectual and moral advancement of those who embraced it, but imparted a portion of its beneficent influence even to the system which it opposed ; correcting its most flagrant abuses, and vindicating the sacred

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1552.

as I have observed in the text, is written with much moderation, and although it was of course designed to support the peculiar doctrines of the church, it abounds with very judicious and practical reflections. It consists of four parts; an illustration of the ten commandments; an exposition of the creed, of the seven sacraments, and of the Lord's prayer. To these there is added a kind of appendix upon the Ave Maria, and upon praying for departed souls; and the whole concludes with an address to vicars and curates, enjoining them to read the catechism, and giving some directions with regard to it. On the last page is this note; "Prentit at Sanct Androus, be the command and expensis of the maist reverend fater in God, Johne, archbishop of Sanct Androus, and primat of the hail kirk of Scotland, the 29th day of August, the zeir of our Lord 1552." The style is wonderfully good, and in many parts of the book there is displayed a laudable anxiety to remove the superstitious notions which prevailed in that age, and which proved a powerful obstacle to the advancement of civilization and improvement. The work is certainly upon many accounts a very curious document, and as it has now become exceedingly scarce, I have made a few extracts from it in the Appendix, No. 2.

In a note to the 34th page of Historical Memoirs concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, from the earliest accounts to the era of the Reformation, written by Lord Hailes, and published amongst his tracts relative to the History and Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh edition, 1800, his Lordship has made some observations respecting this catechism, which do not agree with the account given by other writers, and adopted in this history. Of the 16th canon of the council 1551, he had said, "this canon is peculiarly remarkable; it relates to the publication of that famous catechism, concerning which all our historians seem to have been misinformed." He illustrates this assertion in a note, remarking, that the catechism was not published by the command, or at the expence of Archbishop Hamilton; insinuating that it was not the composition of the primate, and affirm-

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Renewal
of acts
against
heresy.

right of human beings to the blessings derived from religious instruction.

But while the primate and the clergy thus attempted, by adopting the plan of the enemies of the church, to strengthen its foundations, they had

ing, that so far were the clergy from being anxious to disseminate the catechism, that they had, by the canon, anxiously provided that the tract should not be published among the people at all; and had used as many precautions to prevent it from coming into the hands of the laity, as if it had been a book replete with the most pestilential heresy. Much as the opinions of Lord Hailes are entitled to respect, there can be no doubt that, in this note, he has fallen into error, and that the charge which he brings against the historians may be more justly urged against himself. His assertion, that the catechism was not printed by the command and at expence of the Archbishop of St Andrews, is contradicted by the note at the end of the catechism, which has been already quoted; his idea, that the work was not the composition of the primate, may be true, but certainly is not established by satisfactory evidence; and his affirmation that the clergy were eager to prevent the circulation of the catechism—an affirmation not very consistent with their approving of its being published—is at variance with the passage already given from the preface by the archbishop; and is still more decisively confuted by the following quotation from what is called the prologue to this curious work: “Brevely, as he is nocht worthy to be callit ane craftis man, quhilk kennis nocht quhat belangis to his craft, na mair is ane man or woman worthy to be callit ane Christin man or ane Christin woman, gif he or sche will nocht ken quhat belangis to thair Christendome. Thairfor, that al Christin men and women, specially thai that ar sympil and unleirit in haly writ, may haif trew knowlege and plaine understanding quhat belangis to their Christendome, it is thocht expedient to propone to thame ane catechisme, that is ane common instruction, contenant schortly and plainly thai things quhilk ar necessarie to thame to ken and keip, to the plesour of God, and thair eternal salvation.” After the plan of the catechism had been delineated, the writer of the prologue adda, “sa that, in the foure partis of this catechisme, is comprehendit the soume of our Christin doctrine ne-

also recourse to other measures, more congenial with their own sentiments, and with the nature of the system which they laboured to perpetuate. In a parliament which met at Edinburgh, soon after the conclusion of the peace, they had procured

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May 29th,
1551.

cessary and sufficient to al unlearnit men and women, gifand to thame instruction quhat thai suld beleif and do for the optening of thair salvatioun eternal." It was impossible to express, in stronger language, that the catechism was designed for the instruction of the great body of the people. This perfectly agrees with what is very obvious, that the object probably of the council, certainly of the archbishop, was to counteract the effect produced by the efforts of the protestant teachers, who studiously enlightened the people, but is totally inconsistent with the supposition that the tract was not to be published among the people at all. As, then, it appears to have been intended for the simple and unlearned, it is natural to suppose that every method would be used to impart to them what it contained. This gives much probability to the statement of Mackenzie, that the catechism was deridingly termed by the people the Twopenny Faith, from its being circulated at a very trifling expence; a statement opposed by Lord Hailes, only upon the ground that the catechism was not composed for the instruction of the people, and therefore still remaining unconfuted. His Lordship, instead of minutely examining the catechism, kept his eye upon the canon of the council, and founded upon it the sentiments which he delivered. I do not think that even that canon warranted the inferences which he deduced from it; but it appears probable, that during the interval between the meeting of the council and the publication of the catechism, which was a few months—not a year and a half, as Lord Hailes, from not attending to the circumstance that January 1551, according to the mode of computation then established, was, according to our mode, January 1552, has supposed—the impression of the necessity of enlightening the people had become deeper, and the importance of taking the most active measures for this purpose had been more distinctly perceived. Keith, in speaking of the catechism, had said that it was appointed to be read in place of sermon, if there were none at the time. Upon this Lord Hailes remarks, Keith took this from

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1552.

Feb. 17th,
1552.

a renewal of all the statutes which had been enacted in the reign of James V., for retaining the lieges in the catholic faith; and, in the parliament of the subsequent year, an act was passed, prohibiting the publication of any work without a licence from the governor.*

In a synod, which was held either in the conclusion of the same year, or in the commencement of the following one, the decrees of the council of Trent were declared to be binding upon the church of Scotland; and all who resisted or disobeyed them

Spottiswoode; but the canon provides, that it be read omnibus Dominicis et festivis diebus. I suspect, however, that Keith and Spottiswoode had derived their information from the archbishop's preface to the catechism. He concludes that preface by exhorting the curates, "everilk Sonday and principal halydaie, quhen yair cummis na precheour to yame to schew thame the word of God, to have yis catecliame usit and reid to yame in steid of preching, quhil God of his gudness provide ane sufficient newmer of catholyk and abil precheouris, quhilk sal be within few zeiris, as we traist in God, to quhom be honour and glorie for evir."

There is one observation suggested by a perusal of the catechism, which, I hope, is to the credit of the present age. It was intended for general perusal, to be studied by all classes, and to be the standard of religious instruction to both sexes; yet there is occasionally an indelicacy in the observations, which would now be considered as shocking, and which indeed, in a similar work, would not be tolerated. Is this a proof of more refined morality, or only of that delicacy of sentiment which wishes to cast a veil over corruption equally great as that which prevailed in the days of our fathers?

* Murray's Collection of Laws and Acts of Parliament for Scotland, under the respective parliaments mentioned above. Black Acts, quoted by Dr. Grainger, in his Continuation of Maitland's History of Scotland, Vol. II. p. 886.

were denounced as guilty of heresy.* At this synod, some regulations were made for reforming the corrupt lives of churchmen; a fact which sufficiently justifies the protestant historians in their assertions respecting the inveterate and scandalous immorality of the priesthood, and which must incline us to believe what they also affirm, and what indeed subsequent events will be found fully to establish, that the new laws had as little efficacy as those which former councils or synods had adopted.†

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VI.
1552.
Efforts to
reform the
clergy in-
effectual.

The peace with England had not long been concluded, when attempts began to be made for accomplishing that revolution in the government of Scotland, which in a few years took place, and which, as being intimately connected with the progress of the reformation, it is necessary to trace and to illustrate.

* Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 92. Keith's Hist. of Scotland, B. i. ch. vi. p. 63.

† Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 92. Keith, B. i. ch. vi., compared with Leslie, Lib. x. p. 476, 477. Leslie, in his panegyric upon this synod, places its intolerance beyond a doubt, and thus shews that the moderation of the catechism did not proceed from the mild spirit of Christianity. His words are, "Eodem plane tempore, cum hæretici Catholicam religionem commovissent, quicumque ex clero prudentissimi doctissimi et integerrimi fuerunt, Concilio provinciali, Lythguio celebrato, hæresim justissima anathematis nota configunt." He then mentions the adoption of the decrees of the council of Trent; and, with regard to the laws made by the synod for the reformation of the clergy, he says, "Cleri mores perpurgandos plurimum faciebant."

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

Governor loses his popularity This confirms the Queen-Dowager in her resolution to obtain the Regency She visits France Negotiations there Arran, with reluctance, promises to resign the government Queen-Dowager returns to Scotland, through England Hospitality of the English monarch She is cordially welcomed by the Scottish Nobles Governor retains his authority Prudence of the Queen-Dowager She becomes daily more popular Renews her attempts to procure the resignation of Arran His irresolution Parliament He resigns the regency, which is assumed by the Queen-Dowager Protestants alarmed Alarm increased by the Death of Edward, and the accession of Mary Her religious sentiments Persecution This is not prejudicial to the reformation in Scotland Harlow and Willock Knox returns to Scotland History of his Life, and of the progress of his opinions, from the period of his leaving Scotland ; His popularity and influence ; His sentiments about attending Mass Discussion to which these gave rise Effect of their being adopted.

CHAP.
VII.

1550.
Governor
loses his
popularity.

THE inconsistency of the governor, and his proneness to yield to every advice of those who surrounded him, had long destroyed the esteem and the confidence of the people, and had prepared them to view with satisfaction any arrangement, by which

he could be removed from the high situation, the duties of which he had so imperfectly discharged. The conclusion of hostilities, which afforded him an opportunity of regaining, by a judicious and tender regard to the calamitous state of the community, the affections which he had forfeited, only rendered him more odious. Guided by the unprincipled and licentious counsels of his brother, the archbishop, he was guilty of the most revolting and useless cruelty, and he harassed the subjects by arbitrary exactions, which the thin veil of judicial procedure cast over them, did not prevent from being regarded as the gratification of the meanest and most insatiable avarice.*

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VII.
1550.

The queen-dowager at once discerned that such misconduct was eminently calculated to promote her views. From the period of her daughter's removal to France, she had cherished, with increasing satisfaction, the hope of obtaining the regency; and she considered that no time was now to be lost in taking the most efficient measures for wresting from Arran the supreme authority. With the real intention of securing the aid of the French monarch, though under the plausible and natural pretence of gratifying maternal affection, by visiting her only child, she left Scotland; and, accompanied by some of the most distinguished of the nobility, she repaired to the court of France. She

This confirms the Queen-Dowager in her resolution to obtain the regency.

September. She visits France.

* Buchanan, Lib. xv. p. 303, 303. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 259. Lindsay of Pittscottie, p. 198.

CHAP.
VIL

1550.

was received with every mark of respect and attention; and, encouraged by such apparent cordiality, she disclosed her scheme to her brothers. It at once met with their decided approbation, and they without difficulty convinced their sovereign, that, by carrying it into execution, he should in the most effectual manner strengthen or confirm his interest in Scotland. He accordingly consented to give to the queen-dowager his assistance and support; upon condition, however, that the Earl of Arran, whom, with a regard to honour which political zeal too often extinguishes, he was unwilling to sacrifice, voluntarily divested himself of the administration of government.*

It must certainly have appeared, even to the most sanguine, that the attempt to prevail upon the governor to descend into a private station, would be attended with the most formidable difficulty; but the queen-dowager and her friends, who, from their own anxiety to acquire power, might have formed an accurate conception of the reluctance to abandon it, did not despair of succeeding. They calculated upon his natural indolence, and upon his avarice, while they did not forget to alarm his fears. The French king gave or confirmed to him the title of Duke of Chatelherault, and attached to the honour

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 485. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 324. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 260, 261. Knox, B. i. p. 88. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. p. 160. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 56.

a munificent revenue.* He conferred on Arran's eldest son a distinguished military situation, promised to support his family's succession to the throne, if the queen should die without children, and to acquit him of all obligation to account for his management of the royal treasures during the period of his regency. Those of his adherents who happened to be in France, were conciliated by rewards; and when they had been thus prepared, the scheme was proposed to them, with earnest solicitations that they would employ their influence in promoting it. Many considerations inclined them to give their assent. They were conscious that the popularity of the regent was daily diminishing; they were sensible that the queen-dowager, possessed as she was of a vigorous mind, was much more fitted than the irresolute Arran, for holding, in the distracted state of Scotland, the reins of government; and, what probably made on them the deepest impression, they knew that he was not able to give a satisfactory statement of the revenue of the crown, and that if this was rigorously demanded, he would be overwhelmed with confusion and disgrace.†

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1550.

* Knox, B. i. p. 80, mentions, that this title was given to Arran to induce him to support the scheme of Mary's going to France. See also Robertson, Vol. I. p. 125.

† Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 304. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 485. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 261, 262. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 86. Although these writers mention, that a discharge for his management of the revenue was explicitly granted some time after this, there can be no doubt that the prospect of it was held out from the commence-

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VII

1550,

Robert Carnegie of Kinnard, one of his most intimate friends, who had been a little before sent into France, to return thanks to the king for his assistance in the war with England, was dispatched home to commence the delicate negotiation; and his representations were soon after enforced by the eloquence of Panter, bishop of Ross, a man deeply versed in political intrigues, and who had long enjoyed the confidence of the regent,

Arran with
reluctance,
promises to
resign.

They found in Arran, as might have been expected, much aversion to the proposals which they conveyed; but they at length succeeded in extorting a reluctant promise that he would resign the government to the queen-dowager. When every arrangement which could be made in France was completed, she prepared to return to Scotland, and D'Ossel, an artful politician, devoted to the interest of his own court, accompanied her, to direct her measures.*

1551.
She returns
to Scotland,
through
England.

Having determined to return by England, application was made to Edward for a safe conduct, which that amiable prince most readily granted.† She

ment of the negotiation, and that it exerted a great effect, both upon his own mind and upon that of his friends. Knox, B. i. p. 80, says, that this discharge was given when the queen was sent to France; but this could not have been the case, for if it had, no subsequent promise would have been necessary.

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 304. Leslie, Lib. x. p. 486. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 57. Lindsay of Pitscottie, p. 106.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, V. 15. *Acta Regia*, Vol. III. p. 373. Safe-conduct, dated Westminster, 19th May, 1551.

landed at Portsmouth; and feeling the utmost curiosity to see the English monarch, whose marriage with her daughter she had too successfully thwarted, she intimated to him, that she would avail herself of the safe-conduct to visit him in London.*

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VII.

1551.

Upon her arrival, she was treated with the most gratifying respect. The nobility, by the command of the king, immediately waited upon her, and Edward entertained her with a munificence of hospitality, which made a deep impression upon her mind. Several of our historians have ascribed this reception to the solicitude which was still felt to accomplish the marriage; they have even detailed a conversation respecting it, in which Edward personally sued to be the husband of Mary, and the queen-dowager detailed the reasons which had prevented a match, the failure of which, she politely stated, that her acquaintance with the admirable youth led her deeply to regret. The king himself, however, is silent upon this subject. He minutely records, in his Diary, a number of particulars about the queen's reception, but there is not the most distant allusion to any observations relating to the marriage.—It is probable that he was now convinced that it could not take place. Having never seen the lovely princess who had been destined for him, her charms and her accomplishments had not affected his heart; and his delicate notions of propriety would natural-

Hospitality
of the Eng-
lish mo-
narch.

* King Edward's Diary, in Burnet, Vol. II.

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VII.

1551.

Cordially
welcomed
by the
Scottish
nobles.Governor
retains his
authority.

ly suggest to him, that any regret, which he might now express, would be interpreted as an indirect reproach to her mother, who had entrusted herself to his protection, and who had expressed the utmost gratitude for his generous attention.*

After a short stay, she left the English court, highly delighted with its urbanity, and with the knowledge and penetration of the youthful sovereign, that she might prosecute her scheme of obtaining the regency in Scotland. She was received by the nobility of that kingdom with the warmest cordiality. Her enlightened understanding, and her decisive conduct, had gained their respect, while her engaging manners formed a bond of union to her interest, which their untutored gallantry powerfully felt.† Although she must have been pleased with a reception so flattering in itself, and so peculiarly gratifying to her ambition, she was disappointed in not immediately attaining the situation for which she had so assiduously laboured.

When the governor was induced to promise that he would resign his power, he was deprived of the counsel of his brother, the archbishop of St An-

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 487, mentions the conversation, as does Holinshed also in his Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 283-4. No allusion, however, is made to it by the following writers, who speak of the queen's visit to London: King Edward's Diary, in the Appendix to the 2d Vol. of Burnet's History; Burnet, Vol. II.; Stowe's Annals, p. 606; Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 25; Knox's History, B. i. p. 89.

† Leslie, de Rebus Gestis Scotorum, Lib. x. p. 488. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 57.

threws. That prelate was then afflicted with a disease which threatened his speedy dissolution, and which rendered him incapable of directing his attention even to the most important political arrangements. The celebrated Cardan, whose medical skill was equal to the depth of his philosophy and the sublimity of his genius, had succeeded in effecting the recovery of the primate, who no sooner became acquainted with the decision of the governor, than, with the greatest eagerness, and with an intemperance of language little suited to his profession, he attempted to induce him to depart from it.* Arran listened with pleasure to arguments which were employed against a step of which he soon bitterly repented; and, yielding to the united power of his own inclinations, and of his deference for his brother, he came to the resolution of not fulfilling his engagements.†

The queen-dowager acted upon this occasion with wisdom and moderation. She saw how difficult it would be to compel the governor to resign his authority; she saw that she would thus hazard the popularity which she had acquired, and that she might renew the horrors of civil dissension.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 208. Crawford's Lives of Officers of State, p. 377. Mackenzie's Lives, Vol. III. p. 108.

† This change of determination is apparent from the delay which took place, and from the renewal of the negotiation for Arran's de-mitting the regency, some time after the arrival of the queen-dowager.

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VII

1551.
Becomes
more popular.

She determined, therefore, to wait for what she thought would at no distant period be the result of the regent's feeble and wavering policy; and in the mean time, by every art of conciliation, by shewing the most tender concern for the public welfare, and by acting with mildness, even towards the protestants, to increase the number of her supporters, and to gain the affections of all classes of the community. She steadily persevered in this laudable conduct, and it was ultimately crowned with success.

Renews her
attempts to
procure Arran's
resignation.

When she at length was satisfied that, without any struggle, she might assume the supreme power, she employed her friends to urge, with additional force, the arguments which had before carried momentary conviction to the mind of the governor. They insisted upon his inability to account for the revenue of the crown; exhibited to him the real state of public sentiment with regard to him; and he a second time consented to yield the regency to the queen-dowager, upon conditions to which, with the advice of her relations in France, she willingly acceded.* To fortify her claim, and to increase the embarrassment of Arran, her daughter chose the king of France and her two uncles to be her guardians; and although she had not yet completed her twelfth year, the period at which, according to the letter of the law, she could exercise this power, it was contended, that in the case of a sovereign, it

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 477 and 499. Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 304. Holinshed's Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 266. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 58.

was possessed even from the commencement of that year. These guardians devolved their authority upon the queen-mother, and she accordingly pleaded the royal sanction for her swaying, during the minority of Mary, the sceptre of Scotland.*

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VII.

1553.

The governor still displayed the fickleness which was so inherent in his character. The resolution of the one moment yielded to the hopes and the wishes of the next ; and he, who had commenced active life with reluctance, and who would have preferred, had he been left to his own decision, the tranquillity of a private station, and the rational pleasures of intellectual enjoyment, now clung so fast to the power which had blasted his peace, that he could not dwell upon renouncing it without the most painful feelings,—thus adding to the many examples recorded in history, which strikingly teach the importance of moderating our desires, and which shew the irresistible sway of ambition, even over those who were formed by nature to resist its allurements.

His irresolution.

The queen-dowager, exhausted with a fluctuation of counsel, of which she saw no end, retired to Stirling, accompanied by the most considerable of her party. A parliament was summoned to decide upon her claim to the regency, and Arran, at length sensible of the dangerous situation in which, by continued resistance, he would be placed, and of

Parliament
at Edin-
burgh.

* Leslie, Lib. x. p. 478. Buchanan, L'b xvi. p. 305.

CHAP.
VII.1564.
April 10.
He resigns.Queen as-
sumes the
regency.Protestants
alarmed.

the embarrassment in which he might involve his family, finally resolved to relinquish what he was probably convinced he could not retain. He attended the meeting of parliament at Edinburgh; and having rode with his accustomed state to the place in which it was held, he delivered into the hands of the French ambassador the badges of supreme authority, and these were then, in the name of Mary, given to her mother. At the conclusion of the assembly, this princess returned to the palace of Holyroodhouse with the magnificence of a sovereign, while Arran, as a private individual, mingled with her attendants.* He now took the title of Duke of Chatelherault, and afterwards engaging in public affairs, acted, as we shall find, a new part in the convulsions which agitated the kingdom.

The exaltation of the queen-dowager to the regency, excited much apprehension in the minds of those who had attached themselves to the reformation. During the struggle between her and Arran, they had enjoyed tranquillity, which it was the interest of the contending factions not to interrupt; and they had even been indirectly countenanced by the queen, who knew their aversion to her rival. They were sensible, however, that this indulgence was not the result of principle, or of any desire

* Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 305. Lindsay of Pitcottie, p. 199. Keith, B. i. ch. v. p. 59. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 409. Crawford's Lives, p. 377. Melvil's Memoirs, p. 24. Knox, B. i. p. 88. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 92.

which she really felt, to render their situation more comfortable than it had for some time been. They were well acquainted with the intolerant sentiments of the house of Guise, and they dreaded, that, through the influence of the cardinal of Lorrain, there might be a renewal of those severities which had stained the primacy of Beaton—severities which might arrest the progress of truth, although no severity, they were now convinced, would be able to effect its extirpation.*

CHAP.
VII.
1554.

These gloomy reflections were strengthened by what had, a little before this period, happened in England. Under the government of the virtuous and accomplished Edward, the reformation had been cherished and promoted. Naturally serious, and deeply impressed with the importance and the truth of religion, he watched over its purity with the most devout solicitude; and he was anxious, with the assistance of the counsellors in whom he reposed confidence, to lay the foundation of a national protestant church. This flourishing state of the new faith in the south of Britain, directly tended to promote it in Scotland. All who had embraced it knew that an asylum was ever open to them; they were instructed and enlightened by the discoveries of those who, under royal protection, could devote their talents to the study of the Scriptures; while they were assured, that, in the negotiations between the countries, the advancement of the protestant

Alarm increased by the death of Edward, and accession of Mary.

* Knox, B. i. p. 89. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 92.

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cause throughout the whole island would be constantly kept in view by the English ministers.

But the delightful prospects which had just been opened were at once overcast. Edward, whose constitution had been at all times delicate, had suffered much from the successive attacks of the small-pox and the measles; and when he was just recovering from the shock which they had given to him, he was unhappily seized by a cough, which, affecting his lungs, defied every effort of medicine, and, in the sixteenth year of his age, carried him to the grave.*

July 6th,
1553.

His character has been justly delineated in the fairest colours. His dispositions were in the highest degree amiable, his intellectual attainments, considering his youth, and his situation, so little favourable to mental culture, were astonishing, and his piety, free from the gloominess of fanaticism and the presumption of enthusiasm, was admirably calculated to strengthen the religious sentiments of his people, and to give them just views of the importance of the reformation.†

* Stowe's Annals, p. 609. Burnet's History of the Reformation in England, Vol. II. Heylin's do. p. 136. Rapin's History of England, Vol. II. p. 29, and note 4th to that page.

† Stowe, in his Annals, p. 609, thus shortly delineates the character of Edward: "He was a youth of such forwardness in virtue, learning, and godly gifts, as seldom hath been seen the like." Burnet, in the 2d Vol. of his History of the Reformation, has exhibited the virtues of this sovereign at great length, and with much eloquence. Heylin, in his History of the Reformation, p. 152, and Collier, in his Ecclesiastical History of Britain, Vol 2d, conclusion of the 4th book,

Several historians have attributed his death to poison. Of this, however, there is no decisive evidence. The feebleness of Edward's frame accounts for his early dissolution, without having recourse to violent means, often most unwarrantably assigned, as having occasioned the death of sove-

are led by their religious principles, to qualify the eulogium which they were compelled to record. Both of them have inserted the character of Edward as delineated by the celebrated Cardan; a character entitled to more credit, from its having been written and published in Italy, where Edward was detested as a heretic, and where the philosopher could have no motive for flattering the memory of the prince whom he deploras. Cardan says, "that the king was master of a great many languages; that, besides his mother tongue, he talked Latin, French, Greek, Italian, and Spanish. He had a comprehensive mind, and seemed formed for all sorts of accomplishments. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal, his gravity becoming the majesty of a king, and his disposition suitable to his high degree. In short, that child was so bred, had such parts, and was of such expectation, that he looked like the miracle of a man. These things are not spoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but are indeed short of it. He gave us an essay of virtue, though he did not live to give a pattern of it. In bounty he emulated his father, who, in some cases, may appear to have been bad; but there was no ground of suspecting any such thing in the son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of philosophy." See *Acta Regia*, Vol. III. p. 395, 396. Heylin declares, that his reign was defamed by sacrilege; in other words, he receded rather farther from popery than was agreeable to this divine. Collier says, "it is pretty plain his conscience was not always under a serviceable direction. He was tinctured with Erastian principles, and under wrong prepossessions as to church-government. He gives a hard character of the bishops, and makes age and ignorance (in this latter case surely not improperly), a ground to seize their jurisdiction." See also Buchanan, Lib. xvi. p. 305. Knox, B. i. p. 89. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 92, and Neal's *History of the Puritans*, Vol. I. p. 75, who animadvert upon Heylin.

CHAP. VII. reigns and illustrious men, whose departure from
 1554. the world had been contemplated with strong,
 though opposite emotions.*

Her religious
 sentiments.

Persecu-
 tion.

After some faint and unavailing struggles to place the crown, in conformity to the last will of Edward, upon the head of Lady Jane Gray, whose literature, piety, virtue, and melancholy fate, have deservedly excited the deepest commiseration, the throne was filled by Mary, the daughter of Henry, and of his first wife Catherine of Arragon. This princess, of a dark and severe disposition, had been educated with the utmost strictness in the catholic faith; and the sorrows of her mother, which she associated with the reformation, while they increased her zeal for a religion to which she regarded this parent as a martyr, infused into her mind the strongest detestation of the reformers, and the most ardent desire to exterminate their tenets. She had not been long seated on the throne when she unveiled her intentions. She commenced her attack against the protestants, conducting it with a savage cruelty, which creates the most tender sympathy for the numberless victims whom she sacrificed, and the utmost detestation for a sovereign who could view with complacency the sufferings and the destruction of the most valuable, or the most conscientious of her subjects.†

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. Heylin's do. p. 141. Collier, Vol. II. p. 338. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 75.

† Different histories of the reign of Mary, throughout, as Burnet,

The Scottish reformers considered this revolution as most formidable to them. Their own sovereign they suspected not to be favourable to them ; and if she should resolve to persecute, they perceived that she would be encouraged and stimulated by the very power which had fostered their infancy, and had so often effectually interfered to preserve them from destruction. The restraints which have been mentioned, as not long before this imposed upon the liberty of the press, were now felt in all their severity ; and deprived them of the means of administering comfort to the wavering, or of illustrating and defending the doctrines, by the profession of which they were distinguished. This combination of unfavourable circumstances heightened their prejudices against the regent, and led them to regard, with a prejudiced and an uncharitable eye, every measure respecting them which she adopted.*

Their fears, however, proved groundless. What they apprehended would overwhelm them, strengthened their cause, and prepared the way for that success with which it was eventually maintained.

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VII.

1554.

Not pre-
judicial to
the refor-
mation in
Scotland.

The dreadful persecution of Mary induced many

Heylin, Stowe, Collier, Rapin, and particularly Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. ch. iii.

* Knox, B. i. p. 88, 89. The manner in which Knox speaks of the exaltation of the queen-dowager to the regency, is a violation of all decency and proper respect for the supreme authority of his country, and illustrates very strongly the rudeness of those days, and the great improvement which in this respect has taken place in modern times.

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VII.

1554.

Harlow and
Willock.

of the most celebrated of the English protestant divines to leave their country. Of these, numbers went to foreign nations, and imbibed those religious sentiments which, in an after age, so much influenced the fate of England; while several fled into Scotland, in which, although under the government of a princess of the same faith with Mary, they expected to enjoy comparative tranquillity. Harlow, more remarkable for his irreproachable character, and ardent zeal, than for the vigour of his understanding, was among this number. He brought with him the more enlarged opinions with regard to religion, with which, during his ministry in England, he had become familiar; and he lost no opportunity of illustrating and inculcating them.* His efforts were powerfully seconded by Willock, a preacher of a strong and resolute mind, and who, from his peculiar situation, possessed great influence. He had belonged to the order of Franciscans, and had resided in the town of Ayr, but feeling an inclination to relinquish his profession, he left Scotland, and took up his residence in England. At the commencement of Mary's persecution, he fled to Embden, and subsisted by practising medicine. While there, he acquired, probably from his eminence as a physician, the favour and confidence of the Countess of Friesland, and was sent by her upon an embassy to the queen-dowager.

* Knox, B. i. p. 90. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 93. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 37, 38. Calderwood's MSS. Vol. I.

He associated much with the protestants; animated them by his exhortations; enlightened them with a more thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, and even, amidst the languor of sickness and debility, he confirmed many of the higher ranks in their attachment to the doctrines of the reformers.*

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VII.

1554.

But the progress of the reformation was most decisively promoted by the intrepidity and eloquence of Knox, who soon after this returned to Scotland.

Knox re-
turns.

October
1555.

After the surrender of the castle of St Andrews, he had, with the rest of the garrison, been, in express violation of the terms which were granted to them, confined in the galleys, and endured for a considerable time the most severe sufferings. Upon being delivered from imprisonment, he came over to England, where he remained till the death of Edward VI. Upon his arrival, he preached in the northern parts of that kingdom, but he was afterwards called to London, where he was most assiduous in supporting the reformation; and acquired so much reputation, that he frequently was appointed to preach before the king and his council. He was solicited to accept of a living in the metropolis, but declined doing so, from some scruples about ceremonies and habits; and there is some reason to believe that for the same cause he refused to accept of a bishoprick. He did not conceal his

History of
his life, and
of the pro-
gress of his
opinions.

* Knox, B. i. p. 90. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 93. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 64.

sentiments upon these points—he wished that reformation should be complete; and being called before the archbishop of Canterbury, he, with his usual energy and candour, stated the grounds upon which his opinion rested.* At the accession of

* Knox, B. i. p. 85. Buchanan's *Life of Knox*, prefixed to his *History*, p. 7-15. Calderwood's *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 3 and 56. Heylin's *History of the Presbyterians*, B. iv. p. 142. Mackenzie's *Life of Knox*, in Vol. III. of his *Lives*, p. 114. Neal's *History of the Puritans*, Vol. I. p. 132 and 268. A very full account of this part of the life of Knox is given by Wodrow, in his *MS. life of the reformer*, (MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 12-22,) chiefly from Strype's *Memorials*, Vol. II. and some *MS. letters of Knox*. See also Calderwood's *MS. History*, Vol. I., and Beza, in his book entitled *Iciones*, &c. There is great obscurity in the account which Knox gives of his confinement in the galleys, and of the time of its continuance. Several writers state, that he was relieved in the winter immediately succeeding the destruction of the castle; but it seems more probable that this did not take place till the second winter, in which case he must have been confined about a year and a half. In one of his letters, preserved by Calderwood, he mentions, that he was confined for nineteen months. If Calderwood copied accurately, this puts the matter beyond a doubt; but in his printed work he did not avail himself of this document, for he limits the confinement to nine months. The appointment of Knox to preach before Edward, which he frequently did, his constant ministerial labours under the eye of Cranmer, the offer of a parochial living in London, and still more, that of a bishoprick, which, from various testimonies, and from a striking expression of his own, seems to have been made to him, are clear proofs, that, according to the principles then received in the church of England, there was no irregularity, or no deficiency in his ordination; and there is, if possible, still more decisive evidence upon the subject. In consequence of his desire to push reformation farther than corresponded with the sentiments of those who directed the king, he was called before the council. The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Ely were present. Though much argument took place, he was never charged with having intruded into the sacred office. These prelates seem to have considered his ordination as equally valid with their

Mary, he went to Geneva, where he became intimately acquainted with Calvin, whose fame ecclesiastical history and his own writings have preserved, and who acted a most conspicuous and a most important part at the interesting period during which he lived. Possessed of talents of the highest order, and of virtues commanding the esteem and veneration of the most eminent of the reformers, he had not been able to emancipate himself from the influence of prejudices, directly opposite to the principles which he so successfully inculcated. While he enforced the right of private judgment, and laid down rules with respect to the exercise of it, which implied the utmost freedom of discussion, he, in one melancholy instance, promoted the fury of persecution, or at least did not exert himself to resist what, there can be little doubt, his zealous interference might have prevented. In the temper of the times we must look for the only apology which can be urged; and even when we justly condemn the action, it ought to be recollect-

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1555.

own; if they had not, they would naturally have mentioned this, for the nature of the conference directly led to it. Indeed, the right of all reformed churches to ordain, according to the forms which they had established, was not doubted. By a statute 13th Elizabeth, it was declared, that the ordination of foreign reformed churches was valid, and those who had no other orders were made of like capacity with others to enjoy any place of ministry within England. See some interesting facts, connected with this subject, in Appendix to Sir James Dalrymple's Collections, p. 1, 2, and in Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 317, 318. This doctrine, however, soon was disowned, but upon a very different ground from that on which they who now disown it rest their opinion.

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ed, that he was not solely, or in any peculiar degree, guilty; that they who have dwelt upon the death of Servetus with the design, not merely of casting a stain upon the memory of Calvin, but of vilifying the spirit and the sentiments of the churches regulated according to his principles of ecclesiastical government, have forgotten that the same deviation from the benevolent maxims of the gospel may be traced in all protestant churches; that even the humane Cranmer extorted from his reluctant sovereign the confirmation of a sentence, which condemned to the flames an unhappy woman, whose weakness or insanity should have excited the pity of the primate, and that he also doomed to the same shocking death, an unfortunate man who had avowed probably the same tenets for which Servetus suffered.*

Under the direction of Calvin, the reformation had assumed a new form. While Luther boldly attacked the corruptions of Rome, he beheld, with the utmost veneration, the episcopal constitution of the church; and as his efforts were influenced, and even in part guided, by some of the German princes, who were anxious to preserve the splen-

* In the Life of Calvin, inserted by Rolt in his Lives of the Reformers, there is collected all the information which different writers have furnished respecting Servetus. Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 112, Heylin's History of the Reformation of the Church of England, p. 80, and Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. p. 54, 55, may be consulted upon the conduct of Cranmer, and will satisfy any candid inquirer, that the case of the primate was less excusable than that of the illustrious Geneva reformer.

dour of the hierarchy, he acknowledged and defended the superior rank and the jurisdiction of bishops. From the circumstances of his life, Calvin was totally exempted from the operation of this cause. He was led to investigate, with unshackled freedom, the origin and nature of church-government; and having, upon leaving France, taken up his residence in Geneva, he there published the wide and enlightened principle, that forms of ecclesiastical polity might be varied, and accommodated to the situation of those for whom they were intended. Acting upon this principle, he abolished episcopacy in Geneva, and introduced the presbyterian model.

CHAP.
VII.

1455.

His extensive learning, his elegant taste, and his undoubted zeal in the defence of what he esteemed the cause of truth, enabled him to disseminate, amongst the protestants of several nations, the views which he had adopted; and even they who could not acquiesce in them, did not lose their respect for the illustrious man by whom they had been restored or created.* The simplicity of his scheme, and the spirituality of the worship connected with it, delighted Knox. He studied under Calvin with unwearied diligence, and at the earnest desire of that eminent divine, he left Geneva, to become the

* Du Pin's Ecclesiastical History of the 16th Cent. B. ii. ch. 30. Hooker's Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity. Spon's History of Geneva. Rolt's Life of Calvin. Heylin's Hist. of Presbyterians, B. i. Mosheim, translated by Maclaine, Vol. IV. p. 76-79, and 87.

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pastor of a church in Frankfort, which was attended by exiles from England. The members of that church resolved to make some variations from the book of service which had been published during the reign of Edward; variations which they conceived would have been made in the church of England, had the life of that sovereign been protracted; and which they believed would carry forward the reformation that had been commenced. After they had framed their service agreeably to this resolution, Dr Cox, who had been the tutor of Edward, and who was zealously attached to whatever had been sanctioned by the authority of his pupil, came to Frankfort. Having joined the congregation, he refused to observe their plan of worship, and employed his talents and his influence, both of them considerable, to produce complete conformity to the English ritual. This gave rise to much altercation, dissolved the peace and harmony which had previously been established, and occasioned a revolution in the church; for Knox, who had been chosen as the pastor, was, by the opposite party, who had gained the ascendancy, forbidden to preach. The magistrates, however, interfered to protect a man whom they had countenanced. He recovered his influence, when his antagonist accused him of treason against the emperor, founding the charge upon some expressions in a book which Knox had published. This alarmed the magistrates, who, knowing the severe and jealous temper

of Charles, were unwilling to engage in the investigation of so delicate a point, and they respectfully solicited Knox to leave the city.*

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1554.

He returned to Geneva, where he remained several months ; and having resolved to visit Scotland, he arrived in that country, as has been already mentioned, about the end of this year. Matured in his sentiments, and anxious to propagate them, he immediately commenced his exertions, and sought to give a more decided character to the opposition which had been carried on against the established church. He took up his residence in the private house of one of his friends in Edinburgh ; but his reputation, the distinguished part which he had acted abroad, and the opportunities which he had enjoyed of acquiring the most valuable instruction from the sources of the reformation, induced numbers to attend his discourses.†

March 25.
1555.

His popu-
larity and
influence.

* Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland, B. i. p. 85. His own account is written with much moderation.—Life of Knox prefixed to his history, p. 15-17. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 3, 4. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Vol. II. p. 339. Heylin's do. p. 59. Collier's Ecclesiastical Hist. of Britain, Vol. II. p. 393, &c. Peirce's Vindication of the Dissenters, from p. 35. Neal's History of the Puritans, Vol. I. from p. 102. Mackenzie's Life of Knox, in Vol. III. of his Lives. This account is very inaccurate. It may be observed, that during the controversies at Frankfort, Cox never objected to the validity of his opponent's ordination, which would have been strong ground, had he doubted its sufficiency. Wodrow, in his Life of Knox, (MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 23-37), and in his Appendix to that work, has mentioned all the particulars respecting what happened at Frankfort. He inserts, from Calderwood's MS. History, Vol. I. a long paper of Knox himself, relating to this part of his life.

* Knox, B. i. p. 90. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 93. Keith, B. i. ch. vi. p. 64. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 38.

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VII.

1555.
His opinion
about at-
tending
Mass.

These discourses were most striking, and the object, which they were intended to accomplish, was in the highest degree important. Hitherto the protestants, in Scotland, had not esteemed it necessary, openly to separate from the church ; they had even continued to attend the celebration of mass, although many of them began to entertain doubts of the propriety of the practice. Knox saw the necessity of fully enlightening them upon this point. He laboured to convince them, that it was a sacred duty not to countenance what, upon the principles which they had embraced, was totally incompatible with the purity, and with the very fundamental principles of Christianity ; and he found little difficulty in persuading the great part of his audience of what was in itself so obviously just. As, however, the conduct which he forcibly inculcated, implied undisguised hostility to the church, cutting off all possibility of remaining within its communion, several of the chief protestants wished, that the propriety of it should be seriously considered, and fully discussed.

Discussions
to which
it gave rise.

Maitland of Lethington, who frequently attended the sermons of Knox, attempted to defend the practice which had so long prevailed. In support of it, he particularly urged the example of the Apostle Paul, who, at the request of James and the elders of Jerusalem, went into the Temple, and purified himself in consequence of a vow ; a compliance with erroneous opinions, originating from his desire to avoid danger, and which might be imitated.

by Christians in all ages. Knox, with much ingenuity, replied to this argument. He pointed out the difference of doing what God, for particular reasons, had occasionally enjoined, and of supporting what was in direct opposition to the divine will; from the unhappy issue of the expedient, he expressed some doubt whether the apostle acted agreeably to the Supreme Being; enforced this great truth, that evil should not be done that good might come from it; and concluded, that this part of the apostolical history, properly interpreted, might be urged in favour of that mode of acting, which he had represented as incumbent upon all who were attached to the reformation.*

Maitland was convinced by the reasoning of Knox; and from this time, as the reformer has himself expressed it, the mass was abhorred of those who had before used it for the fashion, and the avoiding of slander. The protestants in Edinburgh, resolved to attend it no more; they made an open secession from the popish church; and the example was soon followed throughout the kingdom, even by those who had no opportunity of listening to the eloquence, and the exhortation which had, in the capital, made so deep an impression.†

* Knox, B. i. p. 91. Spottiswoode, B. ii. p. 93.

† Knox, Spottiswoode, as last quoted. Keith's History of Scotland, B. i. ch. vi. p. 64. Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, p. 4. Wodrow's MSS. Vol. VI. folio, p. 39, 40.

CHAP. VII. I have thus particularly detailed the steps which
 {
 1535.
 Effect of its
 being
 adopted.
 } conducted to this resolution, because the formation
 of it may justly be considered as the commencement
 of that systematical adherence to the new faith
 which produced the civil war that so soon followed,
 and which happily, through the mercy of Providence,
 terminated in the triumph of religious and political
 liberty.

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